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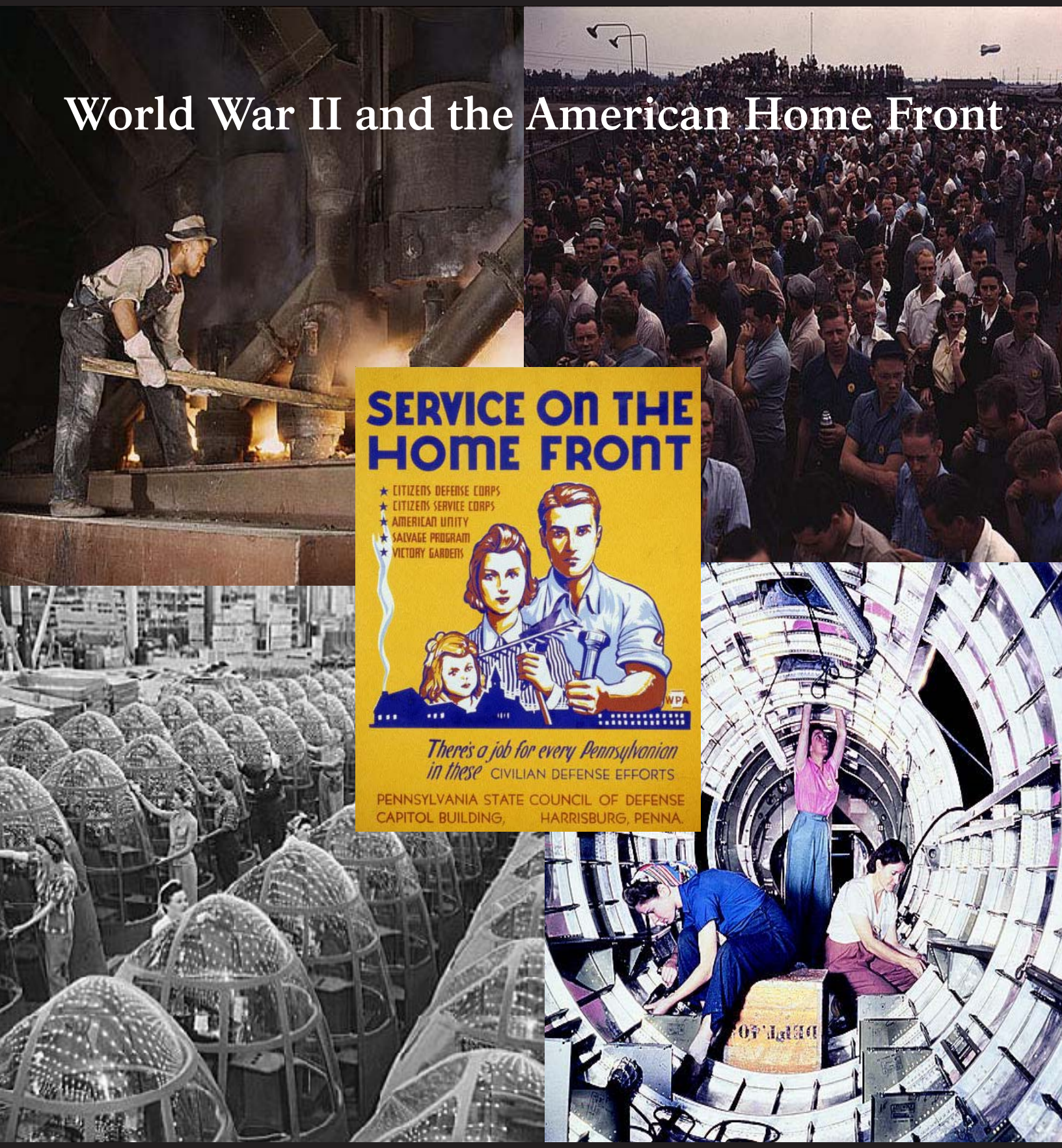
World War II and the American Home Front



A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study

Cover: Upper Left: An electric phosphate smelting furnace is used to make elemental phosphorus in a TVA chemical plant in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, Alabama. June 1942. Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information (FSA/OWI) Collection, [LC-USW36-333]. Upper Right: Image of workers on the Liberator Bombers at Consolidated Aircraft Corporation in Fort Worth, Texas. October 1942. FSA/OWI Collection, [LC-USW36-384]. Lower Left: Women workers at the Long Beach, California plant of Douglas Aviation Company groom lines of transparent noses for deadly A-20 attack bombers. October 1942. FSA/OWI Collection, [LC-USE6-D-006632]. Lower Right: Women workers install fixtures and assemblies to a tail fuselage section of a B-17F Bomber at the Long Beach, California plant of the Douglas Aircraft Company. October 1942. FSA/OWI Collection, [LC-USW361-103]. Center: War poster encourages participation in civil defense efforts and shows family prepared for work. January 21, 1943. Works Project Administration Poster Collection, [LC-USZC2-1107]. All images courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.

WORLD WAR II
&
THE AMERICAN HOME FRONT

A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study

Prepared by:

Marilyn M. Harper, Project Manager & Historian
Essays prepared by the Organization of American Historians:
John W. Jeffries, Historian
William M. Tuttle, Jr., Historian
Nelson Lichtenstein, Historian
Harvard Sitkoff, Historian

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Contents

Historic Contexts
Foreword 1
Introduction 3
Part One: Mobilization and its Impact 9
Part Two: The American Family on the Home Front 50
Part Three: Labor and the Working Class in World War II 80
Part Four: African Americans and Other Minorities on the Home Front 104

Associated Property Types
Types of Historic Home Front Properties 128
Registration Requirements for National Historic Landmark Designation 129

Methodology 138

Study Results
National Historic Landmarks 139
National Historic Landmarks Study List 140

Bibliography
Mobilization and its Impact 149
The American Family on the Home Front 152
Labor and the Working Class in World War II 162
African Americans and Other Minorities on the Home Front 165
Other Unpublished Sources 171

Appendices
A. Registration Requirements for Listing in the National Register of Historic Places 173
B. National Register Properties and Study List 182
C. World War II Home Front-Related National Park Service Units 192
D. World War II Home Front National Historic Landmarks 193

HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Foreword

On October 24, 2000, Congress directed the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a theme study of the World War II home front.[1] The purpose of the study is to identify historic places that best represent the wartime mobilization that occurred in the United States and its territories and possessions between 1939 and 1945 to assist in identifying whether any of these places should be considered for potential inclusion in the National Park System.

The task of identifying places that can tell the home front story is a challenging one. Thousands of factories, government office buildings, research laboratories, housing projects, military bases, United Service Organization (USO) canteens, day care centers, and schools were built or expanded during the war. Theaters in hundreds of communities across the nation sponsored War Bond drives and showed both terrifying news reels and uplifting and entertaining movies. Railroad and bus stations in large cities and small towns could barely contain the millions of men and women passing through them on their way to military service or new defense jobs. Other places represented less positive wartime stories: segregated housing and military bases, war relocation centers for persons of Japanese descent, prisons where conscientious objectors were held, and sites of racial conflict or labor/management confrontation.

Some home front properties have already been recognized. A number are included in the National Park System. The Rosie the Riveter/World War II Home Front National Historical Park, in Richmond, California, was established in 2000 specifically to recognize the important wartime contributions of workers, including women and minorities, and ordinary citizens, who collected and saved and sacrificed on the home front. Others have been designated as National Historic Landmarks or listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Because World War II is still so recent, most home front properties have not yet been comprehensively surveyed or evaluated. In addition, many sites have been lost to demolition or destructive change, in part because no one knew they were important. While these facts have made the completion of this theme study more difficult, they have also underlined the urgent necessity of providing the historic contexts needed to identify and recognize these properties as quickly as possible.

The historic contexts section is divided into four parts. The first, written by John W. Jeffries, Professor of History at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, gives a general overview of the wartime home front, concentrating on the critical role of the federal government in mobilizing industry, science and technology, agriculture, manpower, money, morale, and security. It also discusses the impact of mobilization on the nature of the American political economy, on prosperity and living standards, on opportunities and expectations, on demographic and geographic change, and on national politics.

The second part was written by William M. Tuttle, Jr., Professor of American Studies at the University of Kansas. It provides more detail about how ordinary men, women, and children

[1] As contained in Public Law 106-352, Sec. 4. WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT STUDY. "The Secretary shall conduct a theme study of the World War II home front to determine whether other sites in the United States meet the criteria for potential inclusion in the National Park System in accordance with section 8 of Public Law 91-383 (16 U.S.C. 1a-5)."

reacted to sometimes overwhelming population movements, to the absence of fathers and brothers in the military, to massive, if temporary, changes in women's roles, and to the all-pervasive presence of the war in popular culture.

The third part, written by Nelson Lichtenstein, Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara, discusses the effects of the massive industrial mobilization on working people, particularly women and African Americans, and the central role of organized labor. This part also includes the battles for union recognition during the "defense period" between the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941; the dramatic growth in union membership during the war; and conflicts among union leaders, their rank and file, and the government over wages, shop floor issues, and strike policy.

The fourth and last part of the historic contexts section was written by Harvard Sitkoff, Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire. It deals with the impact of the war on African Americans and other minorities, most of whom made significant progress in some areas while suffering continued discrimination, sometimes violent, in other areas.

Inevitably some important subjects, such as population movements and the changing status of women and African Americans, are covered in more than one of the essays. The perspectives the scholars bring to these subjects help demonstrate that there are many ways to understand the complex reality that was the World War II home front.

Introduction

At the Teheran Conference in 1943, Josef Stalin commented that "the most important things in this war are machines" and that "the United States . . . is a country of machines."[2] Most historians agree that World War II was won as surely on the American home front as it was on the battlefield. In 1939, American preparations for war were far behind those of its enemies, who had been mobilizing for almost ten years. Four years later, the United States was a "military super-power," according to Richard Overy's comparative study, *Why the Allies Won*:

> American industry provided almost two-thirds of all the Allied military equipment produced during the war, 297,000 aircraft, 193,000 artillery pieces, 86,000 tanks, two million army trucks. In four years, American industrial production, already the world's largest, doubled in size. The output of the machine-tools to make weapons trebled in three years. The balance between the U.S. and her enemies changed almost overnight.

For Overy, the "effective deployment of modern technology, against an enemy forced to fight with little air cover, few tanks, and dwindling quantities of trucks and guns, made the difference between victory and defeat."[3]

The mobilization began slowly. In December 1940, six months after France fell to the attacking armies of the Axis powers and a year before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked America to become the "arsenal of democracy." Although U.S. factories turned out fewer than 13,000 aircraft in that year, Roosevelt called for an annual production of 50,000 planes, a figure some of his economic planners thought terrifyingly unrealistic. In fact, America produced over 96,000 military and naval aircraft in the peak year of 1944, exceeding the combined totals for Germany, Japan, and Britain. In spite of initial confusion, disputes, and delays, American industry had achieved the "crushing superiority of equipment in any theater of the world war" that the President had asked for at the beginning of 1942.[4]

All segments of American society contributed to this stunning achievement. President Roosevelt spoke the literal truth when he said in July 1943 that: "Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and fuel and food . . . on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home." The most obvious contribution came from the factories. Old armories and huge military munitions plants and depots built by the government in remote parts of the country turned out 6 million tons of bombs, 20 million rifles and other small arms, and 41 billion rounds of ammunition. Navy yards and government-built shipyards produced 1,500 naval vessels, 5,600 merchant ships, and 80,000 landing craft. Privately-owned factories converted from civilian to military production. The Kellogg Company in Battle Creek, Michigan, turned from making breakfast cereal to producing millions of K-rations. The Standard Steel Spring Company, in Pennsylvania, stopped stamping out bumpers for the automakers and converted their equipment

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[2] Quoted in David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*, vol. 9 of *The Oxford History of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 615.
[3] Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton, 1995), 192, 227.
[4] John Rae, *Climb to Greatness: The American Aircraft Industry, 1920-1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968), 81,71, cited in Gregory Hooks, *Forging the Military-Industrial Complex: World War II's Battle of the Potomac* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 136; Alan S. Milward, *War, Economy and Society, 1939-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 67-74; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 618, 654-55, 668.

to the production of armor plate. Henry J. Kaiser, who was soon producing Liberty ships in record time at his government-built shipyards in Portland, Oregon, and Richmond, California, was not the only man to produce military equipment with which he had no prior experience. Kimberley-Clark, in Wisconsin, for instance, converted from Kleenex to machine-gun mounts. [5]

After a series of delays and disputes, a synthetic rubber industry was eventually created from scratch to replace the critical natural rubber supplies cut off by Japanese advances in the South Pacific. By 1945 America's automobile industry was producing 20 percent of the country's military equipment, including 100,000 tanks and armored vehicles, almost all of the trucks and jeeps, one-third of the machine guns, and substantial numbers of aircraft and aircraft engines. On existing assembly lines and in huge new plants constructed by the government, the automakers used the modern, time saving mass production techniques they had developed for cars to produce high quality, standardized military equipment.[6]

But, as FDR said, the contributions of farms and offices were also critical to victory. The increased output of American farms supplied the needs of the U.S. military and its allies, while permitting domestic food consumption to increase at the same time. Government offices and hastily built temporary buildings and dormitories in Washington filled with thousands of men and women, black and white, who flocked to the city to work in the new wartime "alphabet agencies." Mobilizing the munitions, manpower, and money needed to win a global war against the Axis Powers entailed giving the federal government unprecedented responsibilities and authority. The mobilization effort never resolved all of its difficulties or disputes. But by 1943, according to historian David Kennedy:

> The United States had completed its administrative apparatus for managing economic mobilization, revised its strategic plan and estimates of force requirements, stabilized its manpower and labor problems, and erected the factories and recruited the workers necessary to pour out the greatest arsenal of weaponry the world had ever seen.[7]

Wartime mobilization not only brought the defeat of the Axis abroad but also ended the Great Depression at home—a dual victory that helps explain why World War II is the "Good War" for many Americans.[8] In 1939, unemployment still stood at Depression levels, but as mobilization geared up unemployment went sharply down. Millions of men and women joined the armed forces, moving to huge, newly constructed and rapidly expanded military bases for training. But millions more went to work in industry, making good money for the first time since 1929, and often with many hours of overtime to supplement their regular paychecks. Encouraged by the government, industrial workers learned new skills, moved to better jobs, and joined the unions in

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[5] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat," July 28, 1943, quoted in Doris Kearns Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 450; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 655; Alan Clive, *State of War: Michigan in World War II* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), 31; Richard R. Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?: The American Home Front 1941-1945* (New York: G. P. Putnams Sons, 1970), 117.

[6] Clive, *State of War*, 27-28, 31; Overy, *Why the Allies Won*, 195-96; Harold G. Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 27-28.

[7] Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 655. Unless otherwise indicated, statistical data used in this study are taken from *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, CT: Fairfield Publishers, 1965).

[8] On World War II as the "Good War," see John W. Jeffries, *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 3-4, 8-15 passim.

record numbers. In this industrial "workers' war," blue-collar workers achieved new recognition and status.

Increasing employment brought rising living standards and new opportunities. As production demands grew and as the armed forces enrolled millions of men, employers (often urged by the government) increasingly turned to women, African Americans, the elderly, and other groups with a limited role in the pre-war economy to fill jobs—often jobs with relatively high status and pay. Women found new employment opportunities in factory work and, to a much greater extent, in secretarial and clerical jobs. Most of these women left the labor force after the war was over, voluntarily or involuntarily. Nevertheless, wartime changes in women's attitudes about their own capabilities would bear fruit decades after the war was over. African Americans and other minorities used wartime labor shortages and their own increasing willingness to protest discriminatory treatment to gain new jobs and higher incomes in defense industries. Many young men and women, black and white, found opportunities, training, and experience in the military. And at the end of the war the G.I. Bill provided educational, home-ownership, and other benefits.

Because the United States devoted only about 40 percent of its Gross National Product to war production (compared to more than half in Germany and Britain), spending on consumer goods and services actually increased during the war despite shortages, rationing, inflation, and higher taxes. Americans could still buy most foodstuffs, clothing, and other non-durable consumer goods, enjoy rising living standards, and be entertained and diverted by the various manifestations of American popular culture. Home front Americans also helped the war effort with bond drives, scrap collections, and a variety of voluntary activities.

Mobilization also brought important geographic and demographic change. Millions of men and women left rural areas for urban centers. Cities and towns all over the country competed fiercely for the government-financed industrial installations, military bases, and production contracts that they saw as a way out of the Depression. While established industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest obtained many of these projects, others went to new aircraft, shipbuilding, and other defense-related industries in the "Sunbelt" area of the South and West. Many military bases were also located in Sunbelt states. Millions of war workers, G.I.s, and their families moved there during the war, many to stay or return after it. Of the ten urban areas identified by the Census Bureau as most congested as the result of wartime migrations, all but two were located along the Pacific, Gulf, and South Atlantic coasts.[9] Marriage and birth rates surged.

The home front brought less positive developments too. Though most Americans understood the need for rationing and wage and price control, they were never happy about limits on their own income, and many bought at least some goods on the wartime black market. In spite of the fact that the war was widely described as a fight to preserve the family-centered "American way of life," wartime changes put enormous stress on families. One out of every five American families had one or more members serving in the military. These families waited, and worried, and honored the 400,000 men and women who did not come back with gold star service flags in their windows. Servicemen's wives and women war workers frequently had difficulty finding appropriate care for their children, particularly those who had moved to new communities.

[9] Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?*, 67-8. The ten areas were Mobile County, AL; the Hampton Roads area, VA; San Diego County, CA; the Charleston area, SC; Portland, OR/Vancouver, WA; the San Francisco Bay area, CA; the Puget Sound area, WA: the Los Angeles area, CA; Muskegon County, MI; and the Detroit/Willow Run area, MI.

Government and private child care and after school care programs became increasingly popular and effective as the war progressed, but some children were left unsupervised or forced to stay out of school to tend their younger siblings. Most children participated eagerly in scrap and paper drives and enjoyed their wartime cartoons, serials, war games, and radio programs, but they also endured the anxiety created by school air raid drills, terrifying newsreels and photographs, and the trauma of "Daddy's" departure.

The tides of migration that sent millions of people to new destinations and new opportunities and helped communities all across the nation recover from the Depression also produced tensions and sometimes conflict. Industrial workers moving to new jobs in old cities found themselves and their families living crowded together in dilapidated housing. The families of workers and servicemen coming to newly created factories and Army bases often were forced to live in converted garages, trailers, flimsy temporary housing, even former chicken coops. The influx strained inadequate sewage systems and public transportation. Government programs to provide new housing were opposed by private builders and by some towns and cities that feared the new construction would turn into instant slums after the war ended. The government appropriated funds to help communities disrupted by wartime migrations provide day care services, sewers, hospitals, garbage collections, law enforcement, fire prevention, and recreation centers, but the money could not come close to meeting the needs. Old residents feared that newcomers would erode community standards and raise taxes to pay for additional community services and infrastructure

Some of the newcomers, particularly African Americans, encountered hostility and prejudice. Strict segregation was enforced in government housing and the military. In spite of the work of the government's Fair Employment Practices Committee and the opposition of most union leaders, white workers sometimes staged "hate strikes" to protest the hiring and promotion of blacks. Some white ethnic groups, themselves often living in crowded conditions, protested against the location of new government housing for African Americans in "their" neighborhoods. In 1943, the country witnessed a series of ugly, often violent, race riots. Even in this war against Nazi racism, anti-Semitism flared.

The government sometimes adopted policies that curtailed liberties and the flow of information. In the interests of morale and security the Office of War Information and Office of Censorship used domestic propaganda and censorship to promote positive images of the United States and to restrict sensitive information. In the most egregious violation of civil liberties, nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of them American citizens, were removed from their homes and incarcerated in bleak, isolated relocation centers for the duration of the war.

Many people remember World War II as a time of national unity, when all Americans worked together in harmony to defeat fascism. It is true that support for the war was nearly universal, but "the country was united . . . on only a single issue—the necessity for victory."[10] The conflicts and tensions present in American society before the war did not disappear and goals that seemed important before December 7, 1942, continued to be fought for afterwards. The "dollar-a-year men" on loan to the government, who encouraged, supported, subsidized, and sometimes threatened their peacetime employers to ensure that production goals were met, also perpetuated, and even strengthened, prewar patterns favoring big business. Labor leaders served on government planning agencies and helped mobilize the industrial manpower necessary for

[10] Clive, *State of War*, 240-41.

production, but also sought to protect, and even extend, the political gains the unions had made during the 1930s. They took advantage of the growing labor shortages of the defense period to force hitherto recalcitrant employers to recognize unions. Once the war began, they fought over government wage and price controls, which they saw as allowing inflation to erode wage gains. In 1943, John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers closed down the coal mines four times over that issue. Union members worked many hours of overtime, increasing both output and quality, but also continued to fight to keep the shop-floor "industrial democracy" promised by the labor legislation of the 1930s. In spite of the opposition of union leaders, who had pledged not to strike for the duration of the war, many workers walked off the job in brief "wildcat" strikes triggered by continuing, day-to-day conflicts with management over production standards, grievances, and discipline. Although wartime strikes had little effect on production, they unleashed a storm of public criticism and led to the passage of the first anti-labor legislation since the early 1930s.

African Americans saw no inconsistency in their "Double V" campaign, which sought victory against the Axis abroad *and* against unfair treatment at home. They took advantage of the obvious contradiction between waging a war against fascism and racism outside the United States while practicing segregation at home, of their new importance to industrial production, and of the political power they found as they moved into Northern cities to press for an end to discrimination in communities, in the work place, and in the military. Many whites, inside the government and out, supported these efforts, as anti-discrimination came to be part of the liberal agenda.

The wartime experience both reinforced and accelerated the growth of the modern American economy of "countervailing powers": big government, big business, big labor, and big farming. Despite cutbacks after the war, the federal government in 1950 still had nearly twice as many civilian employees as it had in 1940, spent four times as much money, and had greater power. Big business won the lion's share of war contracts and enlarged its ties with the military in what later came to be known as the "military-industrial complex." Protected by government policy, organized labor grew by some 50 percent during the war and had a significant role in mobilization agencies. Big farmers increased their economic and political power.

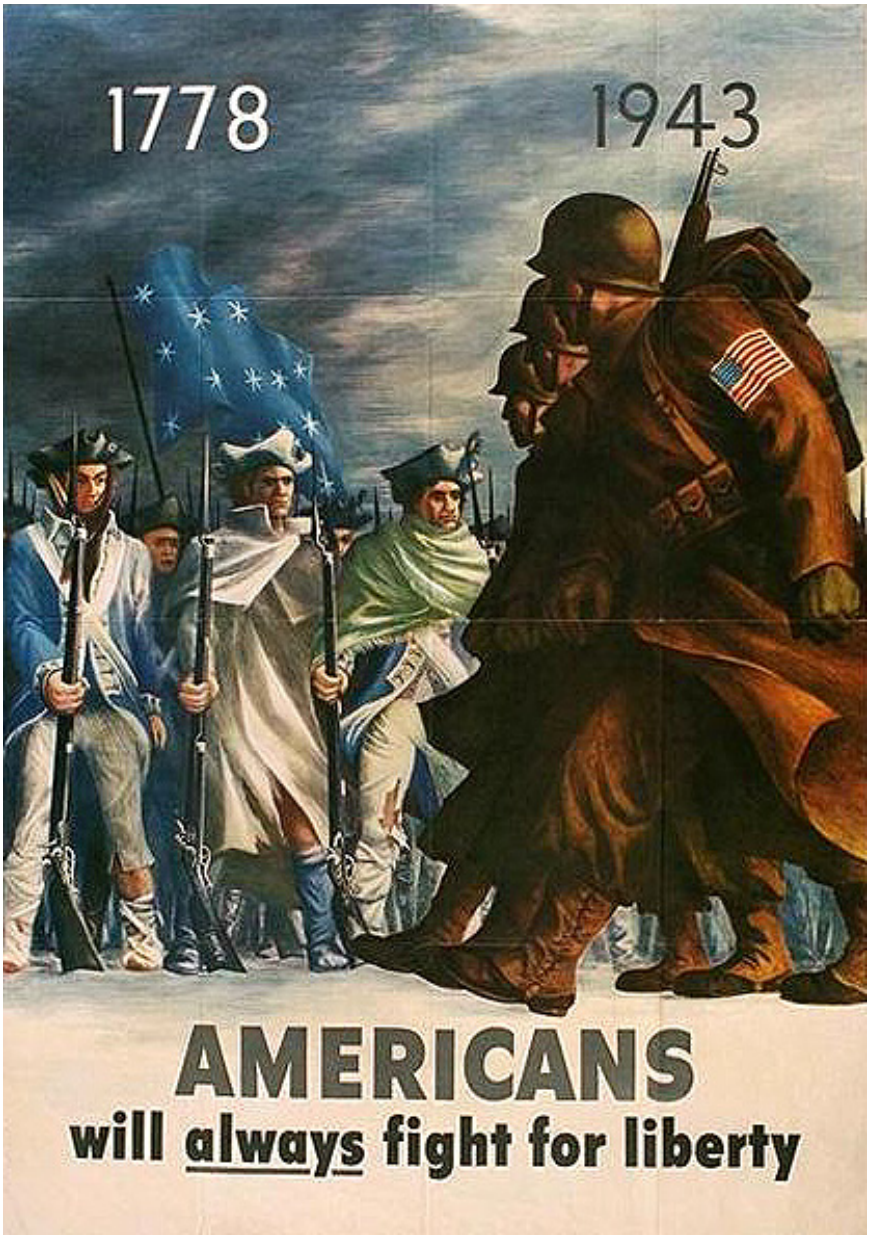
Partly because of the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term in 1940 and then was elected to a fourth in 1944. The Democratic "Roosevelt" coalition of urban, ethnic, middle- and working-class voters, and the white South forged in the Great Depression remained largely intact. But Republican strength at the polls slowly increased, and in Congress a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that had emerged in the late 1930s rolled back some New Deal relief measures and stymied any new liberal programs (except for the bipartisan G.I. Bill, enacted as reward for servicemen rather than as reform).

World War II was a period of large and lasting change in many ways. Many historians see it as a "watershed" event that made postwar America profoundly different from prewar America. Prosperity returned and economic policy changed. The nation assumed a new importance in world affairs. The government grew enormously in size and power. New opportunities came to women, African Americans, white ethnic groups, and workers. The Sunbelt grew in population and economic power. But many of these developments continued trends already apparent before the war. The government had grown significantly in the 1930s. Industry and people had already been moving toward the Sunbelt, especially California. Changes for women and blacks had long been underway (and would accelerate after the war). Electoral politics changed only marginally.

An examination of the World War II American home front and of the impact of mobilization must thus be sensitive to the interplay, often complicated, between change and continuity.[11]

[11] On World War II as a "watershed," see Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 3-8, 13-15.

PART ONE: MOBILIZATION AND ITS IMPACT



This Office of War Information poster shows American soldiers of 1778 and 1943. Northwestern University Library (http://www.library.northwestern.edu/govinfo/collections/wwii-posters/img/ww0207-54.jpg)

PART ONE: MOBILIZATION AND ITS IMPACT

John W. Jeffries

Mobilizing Industry

Workmen leave the Vought-Sikorsky aircraft plant in Stratford, Connecticut. October 1940. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USF34-042365-D].

The process of mobilizing the American economy for war began as early as 1939, picked up sharply in mid-1940 after the Germans overran Western Europe, expanded again after Pearl Harbor, but did not achieve real efficiency until 1943.[1] The challenges were formidable and the difficulties numerous. Existing manufacturing facilities had to be converted to war production and often expanded, while new ones had to be built. Raw materials and supplies had to be acquired and then allocated and delivered efficiently, and production priorities and schedules had to be established for an often bewildering variety of war and consumer goods. There had to be sufficient manufacturing and agricultural production not just to meet the needs of the American military and home front but also to ship needed materials, munitions, and food to the Allies. Workers had to be found and matched to production needs, while the armed forces needed millions of soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines to fight the war. Policies had to be adopted to ensure not only adequate production of civilian supplies, but also equitable distribution. Money had to be acquired to underwrite the enormous costs of mobilization. Wages, prices, and rents had to be controlled in order to avoid potentially ruinous inflation.[2]

[1] In addition to the other sources cited, this essay draws heavily on Jeffries, *Wartime America* and relevant material in John W. Jeffries, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History, Vol. 8: 1929-1945* (New York: Facts on File, 2003).
[2] For useful overviews of economic mobilization, see: Eliot Janeway, *The Struggle for Survival: A Chronicle of Economic Mobilization in World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951); Vatter, *U.S. Economy*; Overy, *Why the Allies Won*; Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1972), 5-36; David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 476-79, 615-68; Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 16-68.

The American economy in 1939 had enormous productive capacity and, because of the Great Depression, a large gap between existing and potential production. As a result of the New Deal implemented in the 1930s to address the problems of the Great Depression, the federal government had grown in size and power. The Executive Reorganization Act of 1939, which created a new Executive Office of the President, provided a flexible framework for the creation of new wartime agencies under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's direct control. Even so, the tasks of mobilizing the economy, rationalizing the production and distribution of goods, and organizing the government were daunting indeed.

A variety of institutional and personal factors complicated the difficulties of mobilization. Down to Pearl Harbor, crucial parts of the manufacturing sector—the steel and automobile industries most importantly—proved reluctant to convert to war production, not wanting to forego reviving civilian production or see competitors take a larger share of the civilian market. Manufacturers also feared overbuilding for defense production that might leave them with empty factories and expansion debts once the defense boom was over. (Throughout the era of World War II, business executives, like other Americans, vividly remembered both the inflation and recession that followed World War I and the long Depression of the 1930s.) Industry was reluctant in any case to accept additional government regulation or control.

Constraints and obstacles also existed on the government side. Though larger and more powerful because of the New Deal, the federal government in 1939 nonetheless lacked the authority, experience, and expertise to direct economic mobilization efficiently. If businessmen and conservatives feared additional government power over the economy, many liberals feared that business and conservatives might dominate mobilization agencies, as they had in World War I. Anti-interventionists were suspicious of rearmament efforts. President Roosevelt, for all of his leadership abilities, was often an untidy administrator, constrained down to Pearl Harbor by political considerations, and reluctant to delegate authority or to invest power to manage mobilization in a single centralized agency or mobilization "czar."

As a result of such circumstances, the early stages of economic mobilization were disorganized, desultory, and often disheartening.[3] In August 1939, on the recommendation of the War Department, Roosevelt created the War Resources Board (WRB) to assist with industrial mobilization. Headed by U.S. Steel chairman Edward R. Stettinius and dominated by businessmen, it was criticized by liberals, while isolationists feared that it was part of an administration plan to lead the United States into war. Roosevelt quickly withdrew his support from the WRB, which was defunct by November 1939. However, by then Europe was at war, and though many liberals and non-interventionists hailed the WRB's demise, it became clear to Roosevelt and others that the United States needed to develop mobilization plans. The collapse of Western Europe in the spring of 1940 made that all the plainer.

In May 1940, Roosevelt used his power under the 1939 Executive Reorganization Act to create an Office for Emergency Management in the White House and established a National Defense Advisory Commission (NDAC), which included among its members William S. Knudsen, who headed General Motors; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and liberal New Deal economist Leon Henderson. The NDAC quickly proved an unwieldy, inefficient body that lacked clear leadership; when asked "who is our boss," Roosevelt replied "Well, I guess I am."[4] In January 1941, Roosevelt created the Office of Production

[3] Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 1-50, is particularly good on the pre-Pearl Harbor "defense" period.
[4] Polenberg, *War and Society*, 7.

Management (OPM), with Knudsen and Hillman as co-directors. Again, however, Roosevelt gave little real authority to the OPM or to Knudsen and Hillman.

In 1941, he created two supplementary agencies—the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS) under Henderson in April, and the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board (SPAB) under Sears, Roebuck executive Donald Nelson in August. Intended to resolve problems of consumer goods and war production, the two new agencies further divided authority and responsibility for the multifaceted mobilization effort.

Although American defense production began to mount almost inexorably by 1940, government mobilization efforts made mixed contributions in the early stages, and Roosevelt accomplished more by exhortation than by effective administration. After the spring 1940 German *blitzkrieg*, the President prevailed upon Congress to pass the National Defense Appropriation Act, the real beginning of the billions that would flow to war production over the next five years. Hoping to show a bipartisan defense effort, Roosevelt appointed two prominent internationalist Republicans to key positions in June 1940—Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War, and Frank Knox as Secretary of the Navy. Conversion and production proceeded, not so much because of presidential leadership or government directive, but because of federal subsidy and support. As Secretary of War Stimson put it, "If you are going to try to go to war, or to prepare for war, in a capitalist county, you have got to let business make money out of the process or business won't work."[5]

Accordingly, the government from the beginning created a variety of incentives for building, expanding, and converting factories and for producing war goods. Washington provided low-cost loans, subsidies, tax write-offs, and generous depreciation rules for corporations expanding plant capacity as well as "cost-plus" contracts guaranteeing the cost of production plus a fixed profit. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiaries, located in the new Lafayette Building only a few blocks from the White House, invested billions of dollars in building new factories. The factories were then leased to private corporations at low rates and often sold to them at bargain prices once the war was over. Firms with post-war losses could be reimbursed for excess-profits taxes paid during the war. By one estimate, the government provided some two-thirds of the financing for industrial expansion from 1940 to 1943. And at the urging of the military and big business, anti-trust policy was curtailed, on the grounds that it might impair war production.

Such enticements met with some success in eliciting defense production prior to Pearl Harbor, but it was obvious that economic mobilization policies and processes needed improvement even before December 7, 1941—and imperative afterwards. Little more than a month after American entry into the war, Roosevelt created the War Production Board (WPB) under Donald Nelson to replace the OPM and to oversee conversion to war production and coordinate material and production priorities. By July 1942, the agency had become an "administrative giant," its 18,000 employees occupying most of a newly completed building in Washington intended for the Social Security Administration but taken over by a variety of wartime "alphabet agencies" even before it was completed. But the WPB lacked authority over manpower; such severe problem areas as rubber and petroleum were given to independent "czars" beyond Nelson's control; and Nelson's own lack of decisive leadership hurt the agency. Perhaps most important, the military continued to award contracts without adequately considering available supplies of raw materials,

[5] Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 622.

manpower, and productive facilities. Though production continued to mount, it did so despite confusion, disputes, competing priorities, and snarls in allocation and output.[6]

Finally in 1943, the administration achieved some order and efficiency in the mobilization effort. A Controlled Materials Plan was implemented, giving the WPB authority over material allocation and production schedules though leaving contract allocation in the hands of the Army and the Navy. In May 1943, Roosevelt established the Office of War Mobilization (OWM), headed by James F. Byrnes, a former senator from South Carolina and Supreme Court justice, with the WPB and other agencies falling under the OWM's large umbrella. Roosevelt gave Byrnes and the OWM considerable authority to control and coordinate the mobilization effort. Byrnes, who set up office in the White House, soon became known as the "assistant president." Though problems remained, Byrnes had sufficient prestige and power to make OWM an effective agency, and the long four-year quest for order and efficiency was largely achieved.[7]

The mobilization agencies always fell well short of regulating and controlling business to the extent that liberals wished. Subsidies and other direct assistance to business continued throughout the mobilization and later during reconversion. Partly because there were too few expert, experienced bureaucrats to manage mobilization, businessmen—the "dollar-a-year men" who remained on corporate payrolls while accepting a token government salary—staffed and often ran the mobilization agencies. OWM chief Byrnes was sympathetic to business, as were key War Department and Navy Department officials.[8]

Not only did conservative, business, and business-minded officials direct the mobilization agencies, but the process of contract allocation favored big business. It was imperative to ensure quick, high-quality production of huge quantities of essential war goods, and it made sense to award contracts to big firms with a demonstrated capacity to meet such requirements. Moreover, the dollar-a-year men—lawyers, financiers, and executives from the nation's big firms—turned naturally to businesses and officials with whom they were used to working. As a consequence, more than half of the $175 billion in prime war contracts awarded from 1940 to 1944 went to just 33 firms, which were reluctant to subcontract to smaller ones. As Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson put it, "we had to take industrial America as we found it"[9]—which meant reinforcing and often augmenting the domination of big business. The military, wanting adequate production and becoming increasingly comfortable working with big business, supported such policies. The military-industrial complex that President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned about in 1961 owed much to the mobilization effort of World War II.[10]

The history of the famous "Jeep" is a good example of how the system worked. The Bantam Car Company in Butler, Pennsylvania, developed the initial prototype of a small, versatile light truck for the Army in 1940. Bantam and Willys-Overland, two companies in Toledo, Ohio, and Ford competed for the first production contract and the Willys model won. Willys, with the later

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[6] On Nelson and the WPB, see also Donald M. Nelson, *Arsenal of Democracy: The Story of American War Production* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1946).
[7] In 1944, the OWM became the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion (OWMR), still under Byrnes. On both agencies, see Herman Miles Somers, *Presidential Agency: OWMR, The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).
[8] For a critical account of the role and influence of businessmen in the war agencies, see Bruce Catton, *The War Lords of Washington* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948).
[9] Polenberg, *War and Society*, 219.
[10] Paul A. C. Koistinen, *The Military-Industrial Complex: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1980); Hooks, *Forging the Military-Industrial Complex*.

assistance of Ford, eventually produced over 700,000 of the little vehicles. Bantam, a small company, charged that the contract process unfairly favored Willys and Ford, the large producers. The government maintained that the contract went to the lowest bidders and to the companies most likely to be able to handle high volume production.[11]

Big business and the military cooperated in shaping reconversion as well as mobilization policy. As the tides of war shifted clearly toward the Allies in 1943, liberals wanted to plan for and implement an early and incremental transition to peacetime production to help small businesses and workers as war production needs diminished. But big defense contractors did not want potential peacetime competitors getting a jump on the civilian market, while the armed forces wanted no curtailment of military production. In what became known as "the war within a war" from 1943 to 1945, not only was reconversion delayed, but war contractors got generous contract termination policies and often were able to buy "surplus" government-owned and government-financed plants at low cost. Thus, while the reconversion policy worked to the benefit of mainly big business, liberals and labor complained that it provided little assistance to newly unemployed defense workers and ignored the "human side of reconversion."[12]

But if the mobilization agencies took industrial America much as they had found it (and indeed left business power even more concentrated than it had been before the war), they did play an important role in encouraging new industries in such areas as aircraft and electronics and in developing Sunbelt regions of the West and South.[13] The federal government invested tens of billions of dollars in the West, accounting for some 90 percent of the region's new investment capital during the war. From Boeing Aircraft's enormous Plant No. 2 in Seattle to the huge Kaiser shipyards in Portland and the San Francisco Bay area, from North American Aviation and Douglas at the new Los Angeles Municipal Airport to the Consolidated Vultee Aircraft plant on the San Diego waterfront, West Coast aircraft and shipbuilding thrived. The region accounted for about half of all ships and airplanes produced in the United States from 1941 to 1945. The new wind tunnels built by the California Institute of Technology and by the federal government's National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and other science and technology defense-related enterprises, also received important government funds. The money flowing to the West Coast reinforced developments underway prior to the war—but wartime spending (on military bases as well) played a major role in the region's wartime and postwar development.[14]

Federal money perhaps played an even more important role in the South, identified as the nation's "number one" economic problem by Roosevelt and others in the 1930s. The Southern shipbuilding industry, which accounted for about one-fourth of the nation's wartime ship production, prospered along the Atlantic Coast from the Navy yards in Charleston and Norfolk to Ingalls Shipbuilding in Pascagoula, Mississippi, and Alabama Drydock and Shipping in Mobile. In New Orleans, Andrew Jackson Higgins built PT boats and landing craft for the Navy, in

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[11] For details, see Herbert R. Rifkind, *The Jeep: Its Development and Procurement Under the Quartermaster Corps, 1940-42* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Section, Office of the Quartermaster General, 1943).

[12] Polenberg, *War and Society*, 215-37; Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 61-66, 83-88; Jack W. Petalson, "The Reconversion Controversy," in Herbert Stein, ed., *Public Administration and Policy Development* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952), 215-83.

[13] Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 73-81.

[14] For the impact of the war on the West, see: Gerald D. Nash, *The Crucial Era: The Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 162-66; Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Marilynn S. Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 18; articles on "Fortress California at War," *Pacific Historical Review* 63 (August 1994).

addition to doing top-secret work for the Manhattan Project. The Defense Plant Corporation built huge new factories for Consolidated Vultee at Fort Worth and for Bell Aircraft at Marietta, Georgia. The industries of Birmingham steel, Kentucky and West Virginia mining, and Gulf Coast petroleum also prospered because of war spending and production. About half of the vital synthetic rubber produced during the war came from the Gulf area. Industrial employment grew by roughly three-fourths in the wartime South and, as in the West, military bases added to the wartime economic invigoration.[15]

The rapid economic development and large-scale defense production in the South and West complemented expanding war production in the older urban-industrial quadrant of the Northeast and the Midwest: new construction and conversions in Detroit's auto industry, the world's largest factory built to produce aircraft engines in Chicago, steel in Gary, coal in Pennsylvania, machine tools in Providence, aircraft on Long Island, and shipbuilding in Maine, Massachusetts, and New York. Conversion of existing plants sometimes came slowly and production problems arose from the manufacturing facilities themselves as well as from the shortcomings of the government agencies. But by 1943, both problems were being ironed out and production totals soared.

The growth in output placed an enormous burden on the nation's railroads. At the beginning of the war, the railroads had 25 percent fewer freight cars, 30 percent fewer passenger cars, and 32 percent fewer locomotives than they had during World War I. Nevertheless, in 1944, the railroad system carried almost twice as much intercity freight as it had in 1940. This included the significant share of the nation's wartime production that went overseas to Britain, the Soviet Union, and other U.S. allies under the Lend-Lease program.[16]

While estimates of final totals vary, the "miracles of production" on the American home front produced some 300,000 aircraft, 100,000 tanks and armored vehicles, 80,000 landing craft, 5,600 merchant ships and 1,500 Navy ships, 20 million small arms, 41 billion rounds of ammunition, and 6 million tons of bombs, including the atomic bombs that ended World War II in August 1945. The Gross National Product more than doubled between 1939 and 1945, going from $91.1 billion to $213.6 billion (using "constant" 1929 dollars to correct for inflation, GNP went from $111 billion to $180.9 billion). At the end of the war, half of the world's manufacturing capacity and two-thirds of its gold stocks were located in the United States. As Winston Churchill said, America stood "at the summit of the world."[17]

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[15] For the impact of the war on the South, see: Nash, *Crucial Era*, 156-62; Numan V. Bartley, *The New South, 1945-1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 1-37; George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967); Morton Sosna, "More Important than the Civil War? The Impact of World War II on the South," *Perspectives on the American South* 4 (1987): 145-61; Pete Daniel, "Going Among Strangers: Southern Reactions to World War II," *Journal of American History* 77 (December 1990): 886-911.

[16] Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 21; Paul D. Casdorph, *Let the Good Times Roll: Life at Home during World War II* (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 119.

[17] Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 20; David Cannadine, ed., *Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat: The Speeches of Winston Churchill* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 282, quoted in Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 856-57.

Mobilizing Science and Technology

Workers at the Boeing Aircraft Plant in Seattle produced B-17F (Flying Fortress) fuselage sections. December 1942. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USW3-041070-E].

The sheer quantity of American production was critical, but its quality also helped win the war. Both traditional manufacturing processes and new departures in science, technology, and fabrication were key to the victory. As with quantity, the quality of the American output got off to a somewhat shaky start. American fighter aircraft at first were not the equal of Japanese planes in the Pacific. American tanks were never a one-on-one match for German tanks. Early troubles existed with torpedoes and other equipment and new technologies and weapon systems were sometimes slow in developing. But by the middle of the war, qualitative as well as quantitative problems were being solved, and science and technology were enabling breakthroughs essential to the American war machine. Basic science, applied technologies, and improved fabrication methods all played major roles.

In this area, too, civilian government agencies worked closely with industry and the military, and also with universities—developing what might be called the military-industrial-scientific-academic complex. As part of the pre-Pearl Harbor defense mobilization effort, Roosevelt in June 1940 established the National Defense Research Committee (NDRC), led by Vannevar Bush, head of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and a former vice president and dean at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In May 1941, Roosevelt created the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), also under Bush, which included medicine as well as war production under its aegis. The OSRD's many projects led to critical innovations in such areas

as atomic energy, radar, the proximity fuse, large-scale production of penicillin, whole-blood substitutes, new pesticides (important for both combating malaria-carrying mosquitoes in the Pacific and for increasing crop production at home), amphibious vehicles, and radio-inertial navigation. The Carnegie's handsome 1903 Beaux-Arts headquarters building on 16th Street in Washington was soon subdivided into a warren of offices to handle the volume of work, which eventually spilled out to other locations as well. The OSRD and its coordination of university scientists with the military and government provided the foundation for the postwar mobilization of science and technology in the Cold War.[18]

Perhaps the best-known such effort was the one that produced the atomic bomb. What was initially called the "uranium project" was transferred from the OSRD to the U.S. Army's Corps of Engineers Manhattan Engineer District in the summer of 1942. Under the leadership of General Leslie Groves, the Manhattan Project built and operated more than three dozen facilities in the U.S. and Canada, employed an estimated 150,000 people, and spent some $2 billion. It created new top-secret cities at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where a specific isotope of uranium was purified and extracted; at Hanford, Washington, where plutonium was extracted; and at Los Alamos, New Mexico, where physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer coordinated the work of thousands of scientists and engineers working on bomb design.[19]

A less known, but also large and important effort, involved the manufacture of synthetic rubber. The Japanese domination of Southeast Asia cut off an estimated 90 percent of the U.S. crude rubber supply and portended a serious shortage of rubber—a key component in a variety of war and war-related goods. After a typically fumbling start, involving rationing as well as conflicts between those advocating the use of grain alcohol and those championing petroleum as a raw material, the synthetic rubber effort was given to William Jeffers late in 1942. Ultimately both production techniques were used and the government spent some $700 million to build 51 plants that private rubber companies leased and operated. Over $17 million was invested in constructing a huge facility at Institute, West Virginia. Operated by Carbide and Carbon Chemicals (a subsidiary of Union Carbide) and U.S. Rubber, the plant eventually covered 77 acres and was the only synthetic rubber plant in the country to produce both raw materials and finished rubber. By 1944, synthetic rubber production increased from a woefully small 8,000 tons in 1942 to over 750,000 tons—close to 90 percent of what was used.[20]

As in the case of rubber, turning out essential war goods was a matter of new production technologies and techniques as well as basic science. In shipbuilding, for example, both Henry J. Kaiser and Andrew Jackson Higgins used new mass-production techniques.[21] Kaiser was especially impressive in this regard. In 1941, it had taken East Coast shipyards about a year to build the 10,000-ton Liberty Ships so vital to wartime transport. By 1942, Kaiser's shipyards in Portland, Oregon, and Richmond, California, had reduced production time to two months and in

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[18] G. Pascal Zachary, *Endless Frontier: Vannevar Bush, Engineer of the American Century* (New York: Free Press, 1997); Carroll W. Pursell, "Science Agencies in World War II: The OSRD and Its Challengers," in Nathan Reingold, ed., *The Sciences in the American Context: New Perspectives* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979).

[19] Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986).

[20] Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 2nd ed. (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2000), 11-12; William M. Tuttle, Jr., "The Birth of an Industry: The Synthetic Rubber 'Mess' in World War II," *Technology and Culture* 22 (1981): Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 28-29.

[21] John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 110-16.

1944 could build a Liberty Ship in two weeks.[22] In all, American productivity rose by an estimated 25 percent during the war, the result to a significant degree of new technologies and production methods, though management practices and worker commitment also played a role.[23]

Wartime science, technology, and medicine also underwrote postwar developments in computers, electronics, aviation and aerospace, synthetic materials, and medicine. The use of huge electronic computers based on vacuum tubes in such areas as code-breaking, ballistics, and the Manhattan Project contributed to their rapid postwar development. Wartime communications needs spurred development of related electronics technologies. The first American jet-powered planes were developed and tested by Bell Aircraft and Lockheed during the war. The mobilization effort galvanized plastics and other new materials. The war also sped the development and application of new diagnostic techniques in medicine and new developments in pharmaceuticals and in treating injuries and wounds. Some of the new planning and construction techniques developed to build thousands of houses and apartments for defense workers became standard practice after the war. It took Collier's 1945 *Year Book* nearly eight columns just to list chemical innovations engendered or redirected by the war.[24]

Mobilizing Agriculture

Producing the goods to defeat the Axis, supply the Allies, and provision home front Americans involved both agriculture and industry.[25] Here too, new technologies, production techniques, and government mobilization efforts were important, all the more because output had to be sustained and increased even as the armed forces and industry siphoned off farm workers. As in the industrial sector, there was considerable excess capacity prior to the war that facilitated wartime expansion. By 1940, production had already risen so much that Chester Davis, the defense commissioner for agriculture, said that some five million low-income people in farming should leave agriculture for the defense industry.[26] Ultimately, the farm population did decline by some six million people during the war even as agricultural production increased and prosperity returned to rural America.

Agricultural employment fell by one million during the war, and might have fallen further had not Congress in 1942 authorized military deferments for agricultural workers. The powerful congressional "farm bloc" of Democrats and Republicans from agricultural areas also ensured that farmers were relieved of some of the restraints of wartime price controls. Government also aided agriculture. Because agricultural products fed not only home front Americans but also G.I.s and Britons, Russians, and Chinese through the Lend-Lease program, the government became the largest purchaser of food products.

In late 1942, oversight of food production and allocation was given to the Agriculture Department, which in 1943 established the War Food Administration to coordinate food production and distribution, including purchasing food for the Lend-Lease program. But this long-established Cabinet department had to share responsibility with a number of newly-created,

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[22] On Kaiser, see Stephen B. Adams, *Mr. Kaiser Goes to Washington: The Rise of a Government Entrepreneur* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush*.
[23] Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 18.
[24] Ibid., 146-47; D. Clayton James and Anne Sharp Wells, *From Pearl Harbor to V-J Day: The American Armed Forces in World War II* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1995), 22, 195-96.
[25] On agriculture, see Walter Wilcox, *The Farmer in the Second World War* (Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1947); Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 48-55 passim.
[26] Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 51.

overlapping, and changing war agencies. The War Production Board was given authority over materials needed for farm production and food processing. The Selective Service System, War Manpower Commission, and National War Labor Board all played some role with respect to farm labor. The Office of Price Administration affected farm prices, while the Board of Economic Warfare granted export licenses for agricultural products. As in the industrial sector, interagency overlap and chafing waned during the course of the war, though it never disappeared.

Overall agricultural production increased by 17 percent from 1940 to 1944. Between 1940 and 1943, production of livestock and related products grew by 28 percent; between 1940 and 1944, crop production increased by 14 percent. Much of this went to the home front. Despite shortages and rationing of some items, personal consumption expenditures on food and beverages rose from $19.2 billion to $41.6 billion from 1939 to 1945. Even allowing for inflation, this was a significant surge that contributed to the rising living standards on the American home front.

Increased production despite declining agricultural employment came because of the boost that technology gave to productivity. By one measure, productivity per farm worker rose by 36 percent from 1940 to 1945. Farmers increasingly used machinery and mechanical or electrical power instead of human or animal labor. The number of tractors working on the farms grew from a little over 1.5 million to about 2.4 million in 1945, as horses and mules disappeared at record rates. The war sped the use of the mechanical cotton picker in the Mississippi Delta, a development crucial to the large postwar African American migration from the Delta northward to Chicago and elsewhere. The use of commercial fertilizer rose by 60 percent and new or improved pesticides and pest control, seeds, breeding techniques, and conservation helped increase output.[27]

The decrease in farm labor and the increased application of technology and machinery contributed to the growing size and power of big, commercial farmers. The number of farms and farmers declined, while the average size and value of farms increased. Although much of the wartime change continued long term trends of depopulation, mechanization, farm technology, and concentration, many agricultural historians maintain that the war years triggered the "second American agricultural revolution."

Mobilizing Manpower

Meeting the nation's production needs and the requirements of the armed forces required major efforts in mobilizing man and womanpower during the war. It also required a significant expansion of the role of the federal government; first in conscripting men for the military and then in ensuring adequate labor supply and allocation on the home front. Mobilizing manpower was at first made easier by the enormous slack in the American economy in 1939. As the armed forces and American production grew rapidly, especially after Pearl Harbor, the labor market tightened markedly. Though mobilizing military manpower proved easier and more efficient than many had feared, mobilizing civilian manpower ran into the same sorts of organizational and political difficulties as mobilizing production.

[27] Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 176; Nicholas Lemann, *Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

Mobilizing the armed forces began with the Selective Training and Service Act that created the Selective Service System in September 1940. Anti-interventionist sentiment in the early 1940s, as well as traditional distrust of a too-powerful government, created significant opposition to implementing the first peacetime draft in the nation's history. Nevertheless, the collapse of Western Europe and the fall of France in the spring and summer of 1940 produced congressional majorities in favor of the measure which authorized the conscription of 900,000 men between the ages of 21 and 27 for one year. Though 1940 was an election year, the draft did not become a partisan political issue because Republican presidential candidate Wendell Willkie did not oppose it. Registration began without significant incident in October. A year later, with the global situation worsening and the United States moving closer to war, conscription was extended by a bare one-vote margin in the House of Representatives.[28]

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Selective Service oversaw the expansion of the military to more than 12 million G.I.s on active service at its peak strength in 1945. Ultimately, some 16 million Americans served in the military during World War II. The Selective Service System registered some 50 million men between the ages of 18 and 64, screened almost 18 million, and drafted roughly 10 million from ages 18 to 38. The other 6 million Americans (including all of the one-third of a million women) who joined the armed forces were volunteer; the Navy and Marine Corps took only volunteers until early 1943. In the military, many young men, black and white, received better nutrition and medical care than they had ever experienced and gained important educational opportunities, as well as military training and experience—and the postwar G.I. Bill.

Selective Service was administered by local boards—nearly 6,500 draft boards and some 500 appeals boards—throughout the nation. Staffed largely by prominent or influential people, the boards operated with both the familiarity with local standards and mores and the occasional favoritism that typically mark local management. Only three southern states allowed African Americans to serve on draft boards, and nationwide only some 250 blacks served on the boards. The boards supervised registration, received requests for deferments or conscientious objector status, and heard appeals. They sought to balance military and civilian production needs in handling deferment requests. General Lewis B. Hershey, who headed the Selective Service System, was generally successful in resisting attempts to put Selective Service under the authority of the War Manpower Commission created in April 1942 to ensure adequate allocation of labor to essential war production tasks.

Some 10 million received exemptions or deferments, and some 4.5 million appealed their classifications. The Selective Service Act exempted from combat service anyone "who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." Moral or ethical objection to war did not qualify. About half of the 70,000 men who applied for conscientious objector (CO) status received it; roughly 25,000 COs served in non-combat roles in the military, usually in medical units. Those who objected to serving in the military in any capacity worked on Civilian Conservation Corps projects or in Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps scattered around the country. Some of the 12,000 men who served in CPS camps volunteered for important, and sometimes dangerous, medical experiments sponsored by the OSRD; some worked in mental hospitals; others risked their lives fighting fires in remote areas in the West. Nearly 6,000 men went to jail rather than comply with Selective Service policy. Many of these were Jehovah's Witnesses whose requests for deferments as ministers were denied because they did not oppose force in all circumstances and thus did not qualify as

[28] George Q. Flynn, *The Draft, 1940-1973* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); George Q. Flynn, *Lewis B. Hershey: Mr. Selective Service* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

COs. The "Danbury Eight" students at the Union Theological Seminary, served one year in the Federal Penitentiary in Danbury, Connecticut, for their refusal to register for the draft in 1940.[29]

More common reasons for exemption or deferment involved medical, psychological, educational, family, or occupational status. Those who were mentally or physically unfit (about 6 million) were exempted. Among the warring nations, only the United States began to screen for homosexuality on the grounds that it was a mental condition that made homosexuals unfit for military service. At first, married men were not drafted—which caused a substantial marriage boom soon after the Selective Service act was passed—and fathers were exempt until late 1943. From October 1943 to December 1945, nearly 950,000 fathers were drafted, almost one-third of the total in the period. Essential industrial and agricultural workers received exemptions, and in 1942, Congress effectively exempted all agricultural workers from the draft—some 2 million men in all. Ultimately, about 4 million men received deferments for the proliferating categories of "essential" occupations.[30]

At first, Nisei (2nd generation Japanese) who tried to enlist or who were drafted faced no consistent treatment. They were rejected by most Selective Service boards that classified them as 4-F or 4-C (unsuitable for service because of race or ancestry). The War Department prohibited further Nisei induction after March 31, 1942, unless authorized in exceptional cases. Exceptions were made for bilingual Nisei and Kibei (those 2nd and 3rd generations educated in Japan) who served as foreign language instructors and interpreters. After September 14, 1942, all registrants of Japanese ancestry were officially classified as 4-C.[31]

In 1943, the government issued its first call for volunteers for the Army. From internment camps first authorized in February 1942, about 1,200 Nisei volunteered. These volunteers, and the draftees enrolled after the government initiated a draft for Japanese Americans in January 1944, became the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. This team joined with the 100th Infantry Battalion of the Hawaii National Guard and "became the most decorated unit of its size and length of service in American history, with 18,143 individual decorations and 9,486 casualties in a unit with an authorized strength of 4,000 men."[32]

The Selective Service Act included a clause prohibiting racial discrimination, but the World War II military was, in fact, almost entirely segregated. In 1940, African Americans could not serve in the Marine Corps or Army Air Corps, held only menial positions in the Navy, and were inducted into the Army in limited numbers and placed in segregated non-combat units. Higher rejection rates for blacks may in some cases have reflected prejudice among the overwhelmingly

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[29] Mulford Q. Sibley and Philip F. Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector, 1941-1947* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952).

[30] Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 631-37, 709-13; William M. Tuttle, Jr., *"Daddy's Gone to War": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford, 1993), 21, 30-31; Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 142-43; Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (New York: Free Press, 1990). Only a tiny percentage—three-hundredths of one percent of those screened—was rejected on the grounds of homosexuality and a comparably small number was removed from the armed forces. Many gays and lesbians thus served effectively in the military.

[31] S. Curtis Breckenridge, Jeffery F. Burton, and Mary M. Farrell, *Japanese Americans in World War II*, National Historic Landmark Theme Study (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, draft, July 2004), 8-9. This paragraph contributed by National Historic Landmarks staff.

[32] Some Japanese Americans opposed joining the army in a segregated unit. Breckenridge, "Japanese Americans in World War II," 28. This paragraph contributed by the National Historic Landmarks staff.

white draft boards, but the low medical and educational levels produced by racial discrimination were key factors.

Ultimately about one million African Americans served in the World War II military. Blacks were eventually accepted into the Marine Corps and Army Air Corps. As the war proceeded, African Americans received a wider range of duties, including combat, and some served in integrated units by 1944 and 1945. Sometimes serious racial tensions and disturbances occurred on or near military training bases, many of them located in the segregated South. The wartime experience, including African American protest against discriminatory treatment, began the process that would end with the desegregation of the armed forces in 1948.[33]

The U.S. Marine Corps trained its African American volunteers at Montford Point, North Carolina. March 1943. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USW3-023008-D].

The story of the black Tuskegee Airmen who trained at Moton Field at Tuskegee Institute, a major center for African American education in Alabama, is well known. In the 1940s, Tuskegee, Alabama became home to a "military experiment" to train America's first African American military pilots. Intensive training at Tuskegee produced “over 1,000 pilots into one of the most highly respected U.S. fighter groups of World War II.”[34] Otherwise, efforts the Army made in 1944 to desegregate its bases faced local protest among white Southerners who slowed the effort. As millions of G.I.s passed through the South, some were appalled at Southern racial mores and were more inclined to support civil rights efforts after the war; others, including some who opposed Jim Crow, liked the South and returned after the war.

The millions of inductees into the armed forces were housed in some 242 newly constructed and rapidly expanded training camps concentrated in the Sunbelt states, especially in the South. Despite being built in great haste, these “temporary” camps were the “best run, most

[33] Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969); Ulysses Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1966), and the essay on African Americans and other minorities in this study.
[34] National Park Service, “Legends of Tuskegee,” http://www.cr.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/tuskegee/intro.htm (accessed May 31, 2007).

comfortable, most efficient posts [the Army] had ever possessed."[35] In the South, such facilities as Fort Benning, Georgia; Camp Shelby, Mississippi; Fort Bragg, North Carolina; and Fort Jackson, South Carolina, could all take in upwards of 65,000 G.I.s. One historian of the wartime South notes that despite the South's contribution to wartime production, the region "remained more campground than arsenal."[36] The West Coast also had major camps—Fort Lewis, in Washington state, for example, as well as bases in California—as did the Chicago area with the Great Lakes Naval Training Station.

In addition to military bases, there were approximately 500 camps for the 425,000 prisoners of war held in the United States. Two-thirds of these camps were in the South and Southwest, with 120 just in Texas. In some of these areas, segregated eating places and other public accommodations caused great bitterness by serving POWs while turning away African Americans, even those in uniform. Most of the POWs were Germans, with smaller numbers of Italians and Japanese. In some cases, memories of the camps are pleasant ones of men helping with harvests and returning after the war to settle permanently. In other cases, Nazis dominated the camps, creating friction with neighboring communities and with other POWs.

Railroads that carried armed services members from home to camp and eventually overseas, were already struggling with the huge burdens of transporting raw materials, military and consumer goods, and civilian workers on the move. In spite of continuing shortages of passenger cars, the railroad system put together almost 14,000 special troop trains during the war. These trains carried almost 44 million men and women, an average of nearly a million every month.[37]

As the pool of unemployed Americans lessened, the government had to find ways to mobilize the civilian workforce to ensure that labor disputes did not disrupt production and to channel workers into essential war production jobs. Employers began to turn to the elderly and the young who had been in the marginal categories of workers in the 1930s. At first, federal agencies discouraged recruiting women until unemployed men were hired. But as production and employment needs mounted, the government began to urge women to enter the workforce (many were reluctant to do so at first), and to urge employers to hire them. The government reportedly had to sue Grumman Aircraft on Long Island before they would hire women, yet by 1943, the 8,000 women working at the plant constituted over 30 percent of the workforce.[38]

In 1941, under pressure from African Americans led by A. Philip Randolph and his March on Washington Movement, Roosevelt established the Fair Employment Practices Committee that combated discrimination against blacks as well as other ethnic groups that many employers were reluctant to hire.[39] The war thus produced new opportunities for a variety of groups, perhaps most notably women and African Americans. But these gains came more from the need for workers than government policy, and employers typically turned to other sources—young, old, and female workers—before hiring African Americans.

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[35] Geoffrey Perret, *There's a War To Be Won: The United States Army in World War II* (New York: Random House, 1991), 36, as quoted in Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 218.
[36] Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, 695.
[37] Casdorph, *Let the Good Times Roll*, 119.
[38] Joseph F. Meany, Jr., "The Janes Who Made the Planes," script for an exhibit at the New York State Museum, Albany, NY, n.d., n.p., courtesy of the author.
[39] Paula F. Pfeffer, *A Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); Merl E. Reed, *Seedtime for the Modern Civil Rights Movement: The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991).

Mobilization policy also entailed integrating organized labor into the war effort. Preventing strikes was a top government priority. Soon after Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt achieved a no-strike/no lockout agreement with labor unions and business and established the National War Labor Board (NWLB) to prevent labor disputes that might snarl production. The NWLB helped hold down work stoppages, though wartime strikes did occur, leading in 1943 to the anti-labor Smith-Connally Act. The NWLB also helped union membership grow by close to two-thirds from 1939 to 1945, from about 9 million to 15 million workers. By the end of the war, nearly one-third of the workforce belonged to labor unions. Especially important was the NWLB's 1942 "maintenance of membership" ruling. Under this ruling, workplaces with a union contract automatically enrolled workers in the union unless they specifically asked not to be enrolled. Unions and union leaders also were given places in many mobilization agencies though they never had the same influence held by businessmen. While unions, especially those belonging to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), lost some of their militancy and autonomy during the war, "big labor" had more voice in policymaking than before.[40]

In addition to mobilizing the civilian workforce and preventing work stoppages, the government sought to ensure that enough workers went into essential war production jobs. Early in 1942, government planners estimated that the nation would need a combined military and civilian workforce of 60 million people—close to half the entire population—to successfully wage the war. In April 1942, Roosevelt established the War Manpower Commission (WMC), under former Indiana governor Paul S. McNutt, to coordinate manpower needs.[41]

In significant ways, the story of the WMC and federal manpower policy mirrored the larger story of economic mobilization: agencies that somehow managed to accomplish the tasks assigned them in spite of overlapping mandates, insufficient authority, changing policies and organizational structures, and personal and bureaucratic conflict. WMC Director McNutt sought to coordinate the functions of some twenty agencies, some of them fellow tenants in the sprawling Social Security Building, with varying degrees of success. Early in 1943, the WMC lost control of agricultural labor, and the Civil Service Commission worked independently to recruit for the wartime federal bureaucracy. On top of all this, employers competed for workers, leading to unwanted turnover and suboptimal allocation of workers.

The WMC worked chiefly through draft deferment policy to ensure that essential workers remained on the home front, an effort complicated by its struggle with Selective Service and by the congressional legislation exempting agricultural workers from the draft. In December 1942, Roosevelt put Selective Service under the WMC, a move opposed by the military and by Selective Service Director Hershey. Hershey worked to undermine McNutt's policies, and in 1944 he won his struggle with McNutt when Congress restored Selective Service control of the draft. In 1943, Roosevelt put the WMC under James Byrnes and the Office of War Mobilization, but Byrnes largely let McNutt carry out WMC policies without interference. For the remainder of the war, the agency concentrated on recruiting and training labor, providing lists of deferrable and undeferrable jobs to draft boards, and seeking to get the right workers to the right jobs.

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[40] On labor during the war, see especially Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), as well as his essay in this study; but also Joel Seidman, *American Labor from Defense to Reconversion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) and Howell John Harris, *The Right to Manage: Industrial Relations Policies of American Business in the 1940s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

[41] George Q. Flynn, *The Mess in Washington: Manpower Mobilization in World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979). At its peak in 1944, the combined workforce was almost 65.5 million—nearly 11.5 million in the military and 54 million in the civilian labor force.

Volunteer activities also played a significant role during the war, particularly for the 25 million women not in the labor force. Many volunteers served on advisory boards created by federal agencies to help manage, explain, and support government programs for civil defense, war bond sales, rationing, and price control. Millions more rolled bandages for the Red Cross, entertained servicemen and women at USO canteens, collected anti-black market pledges, and checked prices at local grocery stores. Others worked with organizations like the USO, the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, and the Boy Scouts to hand out sandwiches and magazines, sell cigarettes, and dispense moral support for traveling servicemen and their families passing through busy railroad stations.[42]

Mobilizing Money

World War II cost the federal government some $300 billion. That sum seems small by early 21st century standards, but in the context of the times it was enormous—equal to twice the cumulative expenses of the federal government in the century-and-a-half from George Washington's first term down to World War II. From 1939 to 1945, the annual federal budget grew by some eleven-fold, from $9 billion to $98 billion.[43]

Such spending had to be financed by a combination of taxing and borrowing. The administration wanted to use taxation to finance as much of the government's expenditures as possible, not only to raise revenue but also to curb spending power and thus inflation, and to keep high wartime profits down. Roosevelt never got the tax policies he desired for a variety of reasons, including the strength of conservatives in the Congress who opposed heavier taxation, especially on business and the wealthy. Even so, taxes paid for almost half of wartime government spending.[44] More important for the future, wartime tax policies produced major and lasting changes in the nation's tax structure.

The most important piece of tax legislation during World War II, and one of the most important in American history, was the Revenue Act of 1942. The 1941 Revenue Act had expanded taxation and brought additional moneys to federal coffers, but the 1942 act went much further. Taxing all incomes over $624, the legislation vastly expanded the number of people who paid federal income taxes. In 1939, fewer than 4 million Americans had filed individual income tax returns; in 1943, more than 40 million filed, and by 1945 some 42.7 million individual income tax returns were filed. Individual income taxes paid soared from $1 billion in 1939 to $19 billion in 1945. By 1944, taxes paid by individuals exceeded corporate returns for the first time—another pattern that would persist in the postwar era. The growth in tax revenues came not only because of the expanding federal tax net, but also because of rising incomes in the full-production, full-employment wartime economy with rising wages and widespread overtime. In 1939, for example, the average annual earnings of full-time employees had been $1,264; by 1945, it had nearly doubled to $2,189.

Such a huge expansion of income tax collections, particularly from people who were not use to filing tax returns, led to another major, permanent change: the introduction of the withholding

[42] Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), 22-23; Casdorph, *Let the Good Times Roll*, 6.
[43] On tax policy, see W. Elliot Brownlee, ed., *Funding the Modern American State, 1941-1995* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and John F. Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).
[44] During World War I about one-third of federal expenses were covered by revenues.

tax system. Implementing withholding in 1943 produced a problem for many taxpayers because money was being deducted from their pay at the same time that their 1942 tax bill came due. The somewhat surprising outcome was simply to forgive most of the 1942 taxes. Money would still be coming into the Treasury because of the new withholding system, and as one person put it, what happened was akin to daylight savings time: it simply moved "the tax clock forward, and [would] cost the Treasury nothing until Judgment Day."[45]

Roosevelt had unsuccessfully opposed forgiving the 1942 taxes, which he saw as an unearned windfall for the wealthy, and in 1943 he sent Congress a new revenue bill asking for $10.5 billion in new taxes, with higher rates on the wealthy and on corporate profits. Congress cut the President's new tax bill to just $2.5 billion with provisions favoring various business interests. Angrily denouncing it as "not a tax bill but a tax relief bill providing relief not for the needy but for the greedy," Roosevelt vetoed the legislation in February 1944.[46] Congress overturned the President's veto—the first time that Congress had overridden a presidential veto of a revenue bill.

With less than half of wartime expenses being covered by current revenues, the remainder had to be financed by borrowing. Wartime borrowing was massive by previous standards, with deficits of some $50 billion in each of three years during the war. By contrast, the largest deficit in the New Deal years of the 1930s had been about $4 billion. The combination of huge deficits and wartime prosperity provided dramatic confirmation of British economist John Maynard Keynes' argument that deficit spending could fire an economy to full-production, full-employment prosperity. That, in turn, would have important consequences for the liberal agenda as well as for government fiscal policy.[47]

Government borrowing was achieved through bond sales. Like taxes, bond sales siphoned off money that might have fueled further inflation. Some administration policymakers wanted to implement a forced-savings plan of compulsory bond purchases, but Roosevelt and Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau strongly preferred voluntary bond purchases. They wanted to avoid the near-hysteria that had marked bond sales during World War I and contributed to the super-charged and often repressive atmosphere on the World War I home front. Reflecting the relative insulation of the American home front from the battlefronts, Morgenthau also saw selling bonds as "the spearhead for getting people interested in the war" and wanted bonds to be "used to sell the war, rather than vice-versa." He promoted the small-denomination Series E bonds, which Americans of all income groups could afford. Ultimately, only about one-fourth of wartime bond sales went to individuals, with the rest being purchased largely by banks and other financial institutions.[48]

Managing a Mobilized Economy

In addition to the tasks of mobilizing industry, agriculture, manpower, and money, the federal government also had to manage the civilian economy to combat excessive price increases and to ensure an efficient and equitable distribution of consumer goods. Policymakers were concerned about inflation from the beginning, but became increasingly so as incomes mounted and supplies of consumer goods fell. Taxes and bond sales (and other savings) helped to counter inflationary

[45] Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 241-42.
[46] Ibid., 243.
[47] Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).
[48] Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 626.

pressures by reducing disposable income, but other means of checking rapidly rising prices were also necessary. Despite the remarkable quantity of consumer goods on the American home front, supplies often fell short of demand, particularly for items where military needs for raw materials created real shortages. Eventually, the government had to turn to wage and price controls, and to rationing for essential civilian goods in short supply.

Efforts to address such problems began in the pre-Pearl Harbor "defense period," and were marked by the usual administrative and organizational difficulties. In August 1941, Roosevelt replaced the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, created only four months earlier, with the Office of Price Administration (OPA), also headed by Leon Henderson. In January 1942, when the country was at war, the Emergency Price Control Act gave OPA authority to set price ceilings on non-farm consumer goods and on rents. But the OPA lacked power over farm goods and wages and encountered unhappiness and sometimes resistance to its anti-inflation (and rationing) efforts.[49]

Almost everyone could agree in principle on the importance of checking inflation, especially with memories of the soaring prices of the World War I era. But employers, for example, much preferred wage controls to price controls, while workers had the opposite priorities; farmers wanted price controls on manufactured goods, but higher prices for farm goods. By early 1942, however, with a potentially dangerous "inflationary gap" between rising incomes and restricted supplies looming ahead, something had to be done. In April, the OPA froze most prices at the highest level reached as of March 1942 with its General Maximum Price Regulation (or "General Max," as it was called in the wartime atmosphere).

General Max had only some success, partly because farm prices and workers' wages fell outside its purview. Congress, indeed, permitted agricultural prices to reach 110 percent of the "parity" level authorized by New Deal legislation of the 1930s. Manufacturers sometimes avoided price controls with small changes in packaging or content that enabled them to call old products "new" ones, thus avoiding price control guidelines. Even when prices remained unchanged, the reduced quality of some goods, the elimination of discounts and less expensive lines, and the higher prices paid by many on the wartime black market led to "hidden inflation."

The administration also pursued wage controls while trying to work out effective price controls. In July 1942, the National War Labor Board implemented what was called the "Little Steel" formula, which was established in working with wage demands by workers at the "smaller" steel companies: Bethlehem Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Republic Steel, and Inland Steel. It permitted a 15 percent increase in hourly wage rates after January 1, 1941, to cover the 15 percent rise in prices between January 1941 and May 1942. The 15 percent limit did not apply to overtime pay, incentive pay, job upgrades, or benefits—and average weekly earnings for manufacturing workers ultimately rose by about 50 percent from 1941 to 1945.

"General Max" and the "Little Steel" formula checked but did not arrest the rise of prices and wages. On Roosevelt's recommendation, Congress passed the Economic Stabilization Act in October 1942, which enabled him to establish the Office of Economic Stabilization to combat inflation, and then in April 1943, Roosevelt issued a "hold-the-line" order on wages and prices. As the rest of the mobilization effort took hold in 1943, so did the anti-inflationary measures. From 1939 to 1943, the consumer price index had risen by about 24 percent; from 1943 to 1945,

[49] On price stabilization and control efforts, see Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 41-42, 89-101 passim.

it rose by only some 4 percent. These figures do not include the "hidden" inflation referred to above, and economists and economic historians have produced sometimes quite different estimates of "true" wartime inflation. Still, if wage and price controls were never entirely effective, equitable, or popular, they did help prevent potentially damaging wartime inflation.

The OPA's rationing program, which began with ten items in 1942, also became more effective in 1943. However, the program encountered more resentment and resistance than did wage and price controls. This was partly because of real or perceived inequities and because Americans who had lived through the Great Depression wanted to spend again as prosperity returned and incomes rose. Most people understood and accepted the need for rationing, but they chafed under the limitations and often complained about unfairness. OPA's control was limited by resistance and the War Production Board's responsibility for deciding what goods would be rationed, when, and in what amounts. Yet despite the program's unpopularity and limits, rationing did help to share scarce goods around.[50]

Like the Selective Service System, the OPA depended upon hundreds of local boards for implementation. These boards had certain legitimacy, but also were susceptible to charges, sometimes accurate, of favoritism or inefficiency. Every county had a board, and tens of thousands of volunteers administered the system. In Washington, OPA became one of the most visible and lobbied of the wartime agencies, the target of the public, politicians, and interest groups. The agency's unpopularity was one of the reasons for significant Republican gains in the congressional elections of 1942.

Though consumer spending and living standards increased on the American home front, shortages and rationing often proved frustrating. The rationing system itself was complicated, often confusing, and seemingly afflicted with endless red tape involving coupons, certificates, stamps, stickers, and a changing point system that authorized consumers to buy certain amounts of goods. Although not all scarce items were rationed, other key goods like gasoline, tires, meat, sugar, coffee, butter, canned goods, and shoes were rationed. Apart from shoes, clothing was not rationed, nor were fresh fruits and vegetables, or whiskey and cigarettes.

Wartime requirements also produced shortages and changes in products that were not rationed. The need to save fabric led the War Production Board to order such restrictions on clothing manufacture as eliminating vests, cuffs, double-breasted jackets, and an extra pair of trousers for men's suits. For women, what one manufacturer called "patriotic chic" involved narrower lines without pleats and ruffles, shorter skirts, and two-piece bathing suits to save needed material.[51] Some goods, such as new automobiles, simply were not produced for the duration.

Shortages and rationing were inextricably part of the general mobilization effort. Gasoline was rationed largely to conserve tires and thus scarce rubber; canned foods were rationed to conserve vital tin; meat and shoes were needed for the armed forces and the Allies. But that did not mean that consumers coveted such goods less or found restrictions and rationing less irritating. The wartime mantra of shortages and sacrifices was "use it up, wear it out, make it do or do without." Americans largely abided by that creed, but not happily; few wanted to do without and most wanted to buy more when they had used it up or worn it out.

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[50] On rationing and shortages, see Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?*, 234-70; Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 227-34; Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, 41-44.
[51] Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, 42.

The result was selfish and even illegal behavior on the home front. Long lines developed before rationing began on such goods as meat, sugar, and coffee that consumers sought to buy and hoard. A flourishing "black market" developed, as consumers (in collusion with merchants) paid prices above the established limits or bought goods without using the required coupons. One study estimated that 20 percent of businesses received warnings about black market activities and that one in fifteen was charged with illegal activities—though the court system typically gave only light fines to the few who were prosecuted and convicted. Up to one-fourth of the public thought it would be justifiable to purchase black market goods.[52]

Even more flagrant violations occurred, especially in the area of gasoline rationing, which was particularly inconvenient and unpopular. Criminals produced counterfeit rationing coupons, which they sold to drivers and gasoline stations; and the OPA estimated that 5 percent of all gasoline sold in the country was bought with fake coupons. Real coupons for 20 million gallons of gasoline were stolen from the Washington, D.C., OPA office, while in Cleveland thieves took coupons for 5 million gallons. Meat rationing was deeply unpopular, and even contributed to the resurgence of cattle rustling in some places. What was called a "red market" developed, with low-grade meat sold for higher-grade prices or where the meat sold contained more bone or fat than regulations allowed. "Tie-in" sales—where a customer bought an unpopular item in order to get a preferred one—occurred with meat and other goods. Expensive restaurants sometimes turned to the black market to get meat for their customers.

Most home front Americans participated only incidentally, if at all, in the black market and supported efforts to end it—all the more because it kept goods from legitimate sales operations. Some local communities organized effective campaigns to stop or hamper black markets activities. After OPA Administrator Leon Henderson resigned under fire following the 1942 elections, his successors, Prentiss Brown and Chester Bowles, proved far more adept than the often-abrasive Henderson at public relations and brought significant improvements in the agency's operations.

Mobilizing Morale and Support for the War

The attack on Pearl Harbor came as a shocking blow to Americans, but it produced anger and resolve, not pervasive fear or despair. The mobilization snarls and delays of the first year of war and the often discouraging news from the European and Pacific theaters in the winter of 1942-43 caused frustration and sometimes dismay, but not a loss of confidence that the United States and the Allies would prevail. Anxiety about loved ones, concern about military operations, criticism of economic mobilization and management, and even some efforts to evade wartime duties and sacrifices all characterized the wartime home front. But so too did a fundamental confidence that things would turn out well and a commitment to do what was necessary for victory. From the beginning, Roosevelt was a source of strength and reassurance for his countrymen, as he had been in the long years of the Great Depression.

In addition to its programs for mobilizing industry, manpower, and money, the government took steps to mobilize home front morale and civilian participation in the war effort. With others in the administration, Roosevelt resisted efforts to duplicate the Committee on Public Information and other World War I campaigns to boost patriotic feelings to a fever pitch and to root out subversives and slackers. He did, however, believe that the government needed to take steps to

[52] Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?*, 267-70.

sustain morale, channel information, and enlist support of and participation in civil defense and other home front mobilization efforts.

In June 1942, Roosevelt established the Office of War Information (OWI), which succeeded the Office of Facts and Figures created in October 1941. The OWI, another of the many wartime agencies located in the Social Security Building, included both a domestic and an overseas branch, and its propaganda efforts sought to paint the most favorable picture of the nation and its war aims and war effort. A separate Office of Censorship, located in the Federal Trade Commission Building, established guidelines for "voluntary" censorship by radio and newspapers and had authority over incoming and outgoing international communications (including films) that did not come under military censorship.[53]

At home, the OWI carried out a variety of operations to keep morale and support for the war effort as high as possible. It disseminated (and withheld) information, produced films and radio broadcasts, published pamphlets and magazines, and monitored and influenced the content of Hollywood films. Washington worked closely with the Hollywood studios to make movies emphasizing unity, virtue, and ultimate success on the battlefronts and the home front. The film industry was generally amenable to carrying such messages, though the government's power to withhold export licenses no doubt had some influence as well.[54]

Other efforts at shaping images and perceptions of the war included restricting the dissemination of photographs. The armed forces maintained what was called their "Chamber of Horrors," photographs deemed too graphic for publication and possibly damaging to morale. Photos of dead Americans soldiers were not released to the press until 1943. As the war turned in favor of the Allies, such photographs (though often sanitized) were made available in order to combat overconfidence and maintain commitment on the home front.[55] Such attempts to manage news and information and to shape images and perceptions of the war fell far short of what other belligerent nations were doing and avoided the excesses of World War I—but they did amount to domestic propaganda and censorship that have sometimes been criticized since.

The government also sought to involve citizens in the war effort both psychologically and practically with a host of other home front initiatives. The war bond drives constituted one of those efforts. In all, seven war bond drives were mounted, designed by Madison Avenue advertisers and using hard-sell promotional gimmicks and celebrities to attract attention and encourage sales. In September 1943, for example, the singer Kate Smith spoke 65 times on the radio from 8 a.m. one morning until 2 a.m. the next, reaching an audience estimated at 20 million people and raising nearly $40 million. HA-19, a Japanese midget submarine that had taken part in the attack on Pearl Harbor, was taken to major cities across the country and brought in millions of dollars in war bond sales.[56]

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[53] Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); Michael S. Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory: The Office of Censorship and the American Press and Radio in World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). In 1943, conservatives in Congress succeeded in greatly cutting back OWI's domestic branch, which it saw—not without some reason—as seeking to advance liberal goals and FDR's 1944 reelection chances.

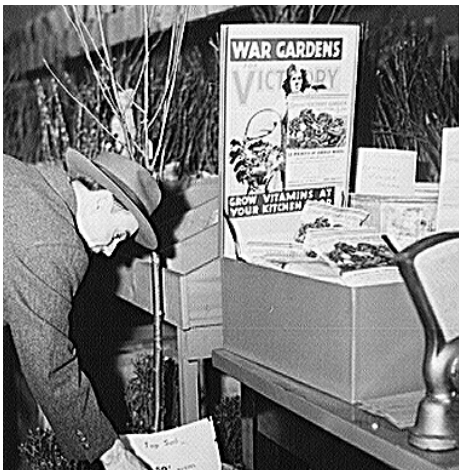
[54] Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (New York: Free Press, 1987); Thomas P. Doherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

[55] George H. Roeder, Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience During World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[56] Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, 36; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 626.

Americans were asked to conserve and recycle rubber, tin, and other materials vital for the war effort. Commonplace materials and objects could be turned into instruments of war—the glycerin in kitchen fats could be used in making gunpowder; lipstick tubes contained brass used in cartridges; the tin used in cans could be employed in building ships; the steel in razor blades could be recycled in producing machine guns; and old nylon stockings could help make parachutes.

As part of the campaign to find or produce enough rubber, Roosevelt in June 1942 said that Americans should collect "old tires, old rubber raincoats, old garden hoses, rubber shoes, bathing caps, gloves—whatever you have that is made of rubber."[57] Within a month, people had contributed 450,000 tons of scrap rubber in a multitude of forms. A variety of other scrap drives involved civilians in the war efforts and yielded mountains of materials. Boy Scouts went door-to-door, collecting paper for recycling to make up for the shortage of wood pulp caused by the demand for lumber, and the General Eisenhower Waste Paper Campaign of 1945 gave special awards to Scouts collecting 1,000 pounds of paper.



Citizen buys topsoil to improve a victory garden. May 1943. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USW3-028105-D].

"Victory Gardens" were a way to involve home front Americans in the war effort and to increase food supplies at the same time. Ranging from small urban plots to large suburban and rural fields, some 20 million victory gardens were planted by 1943, and by one estimate produced more than one-third of all vegetables grown that year. Even tiny gardens gave a sense of participation, provided a form of recreation and family cooperation, and contributed to home front morale. In Washington D.C., one victory garden, located near a large government housing project for war workers, is still being used as a community garden plot.[58]

A program that never proved as vital as seemed likely at the outset of the war but that nonetheless made both practical and psychological contributions to the war effort was civil defense.[59] Established in May 1941, the Office of Civilian Defense had little success before Pearl Harbor in organizing air defense efforts and local defense councils, but by early 1942 more than 5.5 million people and some 7,000 local councils took part in air-raid defense and coastal surveillance for Axis ships and implemented curfews and blackouts. The OCD conferred a "V Home Award" as "a badge of honor for those families which have made themselves into a fighting unit on the home front" by such activities as buying war bonds and conserving or salvaging needed materials.[60] Though the American home front was never really threatened and civil defense efforts turned out to be unnecessary, they did provide a sense of participation and also contributed to home front morale.

Home front Americans understood that their service and sacrifice paled beside that of the boys overseas. The V Home Award program never got far for example. Instead people displayed stars in their windows to denote a family member in the armed forces, or a gold star to indicate

[57] Polenberg, *War and Society*, 16.
[58] Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, 36-37.
[59] On the Office of Civilian Defense, see Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?*, 25-62.
[60] Polenberg, *War and Society*, 133.

that a household member had died in the war. And those gold stars, although glittering, were also a somber reminder of the seriousness of the war and the difference between the battlefronts and the prosperous, essentially unthreatened home front and the good life that so many home front Americans were living.

Managing Home Front Security

To the degree that the government and the public perceived serious threats to the home front and its security, they came mostly from within, not without. German U-Boats that roamed the waters off the East Coast were a serious problem, sinking more than 200 tankers and other merchant ships, sometimes in sight of land. In two incidents, thousands of horrified tourists in Jacksonville Beach, Florida, watched a blazing tanker sink and thousands more in Virginia Beach saw two freighters torpedoed. Many of these shipwrecks still lie on the ocean floor. By mid-summer, more effective convoys and anti-submarine tactics pushed the U-Boats away from the coast. In June 1942, the Germans landed small sabotage squads, one on Amagansett Beach on Long Island, another near Ponte Vedra in Florida, but they were quickly rounded up. In February 1942, a Japanese submarine shelled an oil refinery at Goleta on the California coast and, in early fall, another Japanese submarine launched a tiny plane that twice dropped small incendiary bombs on the forests of the Oregon coast that did no real damage. From November 1944 to April 1945, the Japanese sent thousands of high-altitude balloons with small incendiary bombs across the Pacific to the U.S. West Coast. One bomb that fell near Bly, Oregon, killed the minister's wife and five children who found it—the only losses to enemy action in the continental United States. The site of the explosion is preserved as a memorial and one tree survives with visible bomb damage. Otherwise, the mainland was essentially safe from the hazards of war—though of course the story was far different for American territories and possessions, especially those in the Pacific.[61]

Concern about domestic security began before Pearl Harbor. The collapse of Western Europe in the spring of 1940 led many to suspect that "fifth column" spies (spying in one's own country) and saboteurs had contributed to the debacle, and some Americans feared that similar activities threatened the United States. Worries about domestic subversion reached their height in the dark days after December 7, 1941. It was during this period that the government took a number of actions to manage national security. The most important episode—and for many the greatest blot on the home front experience—was the removal and incarceration of nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans in early 1942.[62]

For the most part, the United States government regarded German Americans and Italian Americans with less suspicion than they did Japanese Americans. These views were largely shaped by racial stereotypes, reinforced by decades of highly restrictive laws that severely limited access by Asian groups to immigration and citizenship. To the United States government, German Americans were well acculturated and assimilated and looked "American." Except for a small number of American Nazis, any significant support Hitler had enjoyed among

[61] Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 566-68, 746-47, 847-49; Harlan D. Unrau, "The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center," historic resource study (Manzanar National Historic Site, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1996), chapter 3; Mary Ellen Rodgers, "Mitchell Recreation Area," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2002).

[62] This section draws on Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 120-39, and Richard Polenberg, *One Nation Divisible: Class, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States Since 1938* (New York: Viking, 1980), 34-85.

German Americans had largely vanished before the outbreak of the war. While many German Americans opposed anti-Axis intervention before Pearl Harbor, most supported their government afterwards.

Italian Americans, the "new immigrant" group, appeared to be less assimilated than German Americans. This was a factor of ethnic stereotypes as well as their more recent entry into the United States. In reality, many Italian Americans had mixed identities and loyalties. The 5 million or so Italian Americans included some 1.6 million immigrants in 1940—about one-third of whom were unnaturalized (noncitizens). Partly because of their socio-economic status and prejudice against them, many Italian Americans identified as both Italian and American, and admired Mussolini for the respect he had evidently brought Italy. Mussolini's invasion of France in June 1940 added to complications for Italian Americans, especially after Roosevelt charged Mussolini with stabbing France in the back—using the stereotypical image of the assassin's stiletto and clearly ranging American interests against their homeland. After Pearl Harbor, however, Italian Americans both declared and demonstrated their American patriotism and loyalty.

When "fifth-column" fears mounted in the spring and summer of 1940, Roosevelt authorized wiretaps on "persons suspected of subversive activities," especially unnaturalized immigrants. In June, Congress passed the Smith Act. This act, passed as the Alien Registration Act, made it an offense to advocate the violent overthrow of the government and required the registration of unnaturalized immigrants. The Justice Department began to identify aliens who were suspected of disloyalty. Defense plants sometimes refused to hire anyone who seemed "foreign," and German Americans and especially Italian Americans sometimes encountered difficulties landing or keeping jobs. The perception that employers were discriminating against ethnic workers, to the detriment of both production and morale, contributed to support for the establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

After Pearl Harbor and American entry into the war, unnaturalized German, Italian, and Japanese immigrants were classified as "enemy aliens." This status entailed some restrictions on possessions (e.g., short-wave radios) and movement (e.g., near vital defense areas) and enemy aliens could be apprehended, detained, and even deported. About 3,000 aliens considered "dangerous" were arrested; some of these remained in detention throughout the war. In the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor, some government officials considered the relocation and even detention of Italian, German, and Japanese aliens throughout the country.[63]

Most Japanese Americans in the United States, aliens and citizens alike, were relocated and interned. Nothing of this scale happened to unnaturalized Germans and Italians. By the spring of 1942, any serious thoughts of the mass relocation of German and Italian immigrants had been abandoned (although early in 1942 several thousand Germans and Italians were ordered away from coastal security zones before being allowed to return in the summer). As noted, government policy toward German and Italian aliens were far less harsh because they were perceived to be more readily "American" and had enjoyed more access to immigration and citizenship. On Columbus Day, the great Italian American holiday that came just weeks before

[63] For more information on the treatment of enemy aliens, see Arnold Krammer, *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees* (London, Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997); Stephen Fox, *The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of the Relocation of Italian Americans during World War II* (Boston: Twayne, 1990); and Roger Daniels, ed., *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942-1945*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (New York, London: Garland, 1989).

the 1942 elections, the administration removed Italian Americans from the enemy alien list—testimony to their acceptance in American society and to the Roosevelt administration's need for their support in the election.

For Japanese Americans, of course, the story was far different. Many more Japanese aliens were on government "watch" lists, in part because immigrant Japanese, even those who had lived in the United States for decades, were legally barred from becoming citizens. On the West Coast, explicable if hugely exaggerated security jitters escalated in the weeks after Pearl Harbor and came to focus overwhelmingly on Japanese Americans. Some 127,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of them native-born citizens, lived in the continental United States, most on the West Coast. By early 1942, the decision had been made to remove the entire Japanese population, citizens and aliens alike, from California, western Washington and Oregon, and southern Arizona. On February 19, 1942, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which authorized the War Department to designate military areas from which "any and all persons" might be excluded. Secretary of War Stimson then implemented the order—but only on the West Coast and only against "persons of Japanese ancestry."[64]

Race was the primary factor in this policy, a policy which was expressed in decades of exclusionary laws that singled out Asian groups as undesirable candidates for immigration and citizenship. The relatively small size and relative political powerlessness of the mainland Japanese American population made mass relocation feasible. Military and security fears played a role in triggering the relocation, but ultimately the removal and internment of the Japanese Americans turned on race. Lt. Gen. John DeWitt, head of the Western Defense Command, initially recommended against a mass removal, but later changed his mind. He summarized the prevailing racial politics when he said, "In the war in which we are now engaged racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race."[65]

By September, nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans had been uprooted from their homes and jobs, stripped of their civil rights, and incarcerated in ten camps run by the War Relocation Authority. Most of the camps were located in remote, desolate areas in the West and surrounded by barbed wire. Tarpaper-covered wooden barracks and communal bathing, toilet, and eating facilities provided for basic needs, but allowed for neither comfort nor dignity. In 1944, the Supreme Court in the *Korematsu v. United States* case upheld the relocation policy on grounds of military necessity. In 1943 and 1944, some people were allowed to relocate to areas outside the military zones on the West Coast, and early in 1945 most were permitted, then compelled, to leave. In addition to the personal losses and hardship, the episode, as Secretary of War Harry L. Stimson noted, put "a tremendous hole in our constitutional system."[66]

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[64] On the Japanese American exclusion and relocation, see especially: Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971); Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial : Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993); Peter Irons, *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese Internment Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); and Jeffery Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Publications in Anthropology 74 (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, 1999, rev. 2000), available online at http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/index.htm.

[65] Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 159; Polenberg, *War and Society*, 62. In Hawaii, where close to half of the population was of Japanese descent, the Japanese were essential to virtually every phase of the islands' economy and life. There, in a far more vulnerable location in the Pacific, martial law was declared, but mass removals or detentions were simply impractical and never really considered.

[66] Polenberg, *War and Society*, 62.

The treatment of Japanese Americans was the most glaring wartime abrogation of civil liberties in the name of national security. The 1940 Smith Act also encroached on civil liberties. In 1943, Roosevelt created an Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations with somewhat loose standards of evidence. These encroachments on civil liberties took place even in the absence of any significant evidence of disloyalty on the part of the American people. An exception occurred in 1942, when the Justice Department indicted more than two dozen native "fascists," who were tried at the U.S. District Courthouse in Washington, D.C. for violating the Smith Act and the 1917 Espionage Act.[67]

The Political Economy

In mobilizing the nation for war, the federal government expanded to dimensions and powers far beyond those of the New Deal state of the 1930s. The authority of the executive branch grew enormously as the government managed production, materials, and labor, rationed goods, set prices, limited wages, conscripted men and money, controlled information and sometimes curtailed liberties, and spent and taxed more than it ever had before. The number of civilian employees quadrupled, from fewer than one million in 1939 to nearly four million in 1945. Federal spending (more than half of it deficit spending after 1942) soared from about one-tenth to nearly one-half of the (much larger) Gross National Product. In what has been termed the "ratchet" effect of war, the government never returned to its prewar dimensions. And the introduction of tax withholding and the rise of personal income tax receipts as the largest source of federal revenues gave the postwar government new powers to manage the nation's economy by raising or lowering taxes.

The processes and successes of mobilizing the American economy for war contributed to the increased power and prestige of all of the large, centralized, public and private, bureaucratic organizations basic to the modern American political economy. In the words of historian Gerald Nash, World War II both "greatly hastened the development of a more highly organized society in the United States," and "strengthened the faith of millions of Americans in the role of big government, big business, agriculture, and labor unions in dealing with the nation's major problems."[68] What some have called "big science" also became part of the picture because of the war, with the government increasingly underwriting science and technology, especially in universities, in the postwar era.[69]

Certainly big business profited greatly from World War II. It commanded the lion's share of war contracts and in other ways benefited from mobilization and reconversion policy. Big business also regained much of the public prestige and political influence that it had lost during the Great Depression because of the "miracles of production" and the publicized role of the dollar-a-year businessmen in the mobilization agencies. Big agribusiness also gained from the war, and organized labor grew in size and influence and won a new foothold in Washington decision-making—though as a distinctly junior partner and with the growing realization that Congress would be much less favorable to labor than had been the case in the 1930s.

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[67] Ibid., 37-72. The Smith Act was named after Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia who proposed the law.
[68] Nash, *Crucial Era*, 142, 151.
[69] Bruce L. R. Smith, *American Science Policy Since World War II* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1990); Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

The war brought related shifts in the dynamics of political power, enhancing not only the influence of anti-New Deal conservatives, but also the role of business and the military in policymaking. The power of the "military-industrial complex" that was already evident in the role of businessmen and military procurement officers in wartime mobilization and in managing the wartime economy continued and expanded after the war. The success of the war in ending the Depression helped produce a "Keynesian Revolution" in economic policy and reshaped the liberal agenda. Postwar fiscal policy, however, moved away from using deficit spending to underwrite reform, prosperity, and economic security. It was more an amalgam of national security "military Keynesianism" and cautious, tax-cutting "commercial Keynesianism." Like the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, the watered-down Employment Act of 1946 reflected the new dynamics of postwar policymaking.[70]

World War II was certainly an important but perhaps not truly a transforming period. The size and power of the federal government had grown substantially in the Progressive era, World War I, and the 1930s. The mixed economy of the New Deal regulatory-welfare state had never really surmounted the constraints of the American political culture and political system. The "military-industrial complex" had been developing at least since World War I. The rise of the organizational society and the roles of an increasingly powerful state and of large institutions in the political economy went back even further, as did the influence of business on public policy. Businessmen had taken important parts in New Deal economic agencies, as well as in opposition to the New Deal. And the liberal conversion to Keynesianism had begun before the war, as had the realization of some influential businessmen that fiscal policy was central to the performance of the economy. Still, mobilization for World War II plainly had a major impact on the nation's political economy—as it did on American society.

Prosperity and Living Standards

The notion of World War II as the "Good War" owes as much to the full employment, new opportunities, unprecedented prosperity, and rising living standards on the home front as it does to the defeat of the Axis abroad. The voices of home front Americans make that clear. A Kentucky woman who found employment in a shell-loading plant said that the income "was just an absolute miracle. . . . We had money and we had food on the table and the rent was paid. Which had never happened to us before." A man who moved from Pennsylvania to Portsmouth, Virginia, said that "Going to work in the navy yard, . . . I felt like something had come down from heaven. . . . It just made a different man of me."[71] For the men and women, whites and blacks, and old and young who had been mired in the hard times of the Great Depression, such experiences and stories give another perspective on the impact of mobilization and show that there were miracles of employment as well as of production.[72]

Numbers, although less vivid than personal accounts, tell an equally impressive story. As production mounted and the military took millions of working-age men, unemployment fell rapidly, from 17.2 percent in 1939, to 4.7 percent in 1942, to an amazing 1.2 percent in 1944.

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[70] Robert M. Collins, *The Business Response to Keynes, 1929-1964* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Stephen Kemp Bailey, *Congress Makes a Law: The Story Behind the Employment Act of 1946* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); Hooks, *Forging the Military-Industrial Complex*.

[71] Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 64.

[72] Good collections of oral histories on wartime America are: Mark Jonathan Harris, Franklin Mitchell, and Stephen Schechter, *The Homefront: America during World War II* (New York: Putnam, 1984); Studs Terkel, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II* (New York: Pantheon, 1984); Roy Hoopes, *Americans Remember the Homefront: An Oral Narrative* (New York: Hawthorn, 1977).

The war thus exactly reversed the Depression task of finding enough jobs for all the workers needing them; by 1942, the task was finding enough workers for all the jobs that needed doing. Civilian employment rose from 45.8 million in 1939, to 54 million in 1944 even as the armed forces expanded from one-third of a million to 11.5 million personnel in the same years.[73] Relief rolls shriveled.

The war also brought rising wages and often overtime pay. Consequently, individual and family income shot up, exceeding the wartime inflation rate. Average earnings in manufacturing rose by 62 percent, from 63 cents an hour in 1939 to $1.02 in 1945. Average annual earnings for full-time employees in all major industries rose by 73 percent, from $1,264 in 1939, to $2,189 in 1945. Median family income rose by 64 percent just from 1941 to 1944, from $2,209 to $3,614. Wage rates for farm workers nearly tripled. Bank accounts reached record high totals, and personal savings rose from $7 billion in 1939, to $39 billion in 1944. People also paid off mortgages and other debts.

Full employment, rising incomes, and increased purchasing power led to growing consumer spending and rising living standards. Despite shortages and rationing, consumer spending rose substantially—by more than 20 percent from 1939 to 1945, even when corrected for inflation. In Britain and Germany, personal consumption fell by about 20 percent. American expenditures on clothing, for example, more than doubled from $7.3 billion to $16.9 billion between 1939 and 1945. Beginning in 1941, retail store sales achieved record totals every year and continued to climb after the war. Macy's department store in New York City had its largest sales day ever on December 7, 1944, exactly three years after Pearl Harbor.[74]

Food consumption increased sharply in spite of rationing of meat and other foodstuffs—and often bitter complaints about shortages. American per capita meat consumption, for example, rose from 134 pounds per capita before the war to 162 pounds in 1944; in Britain, it fell from 132 to 115 pounds.[75]

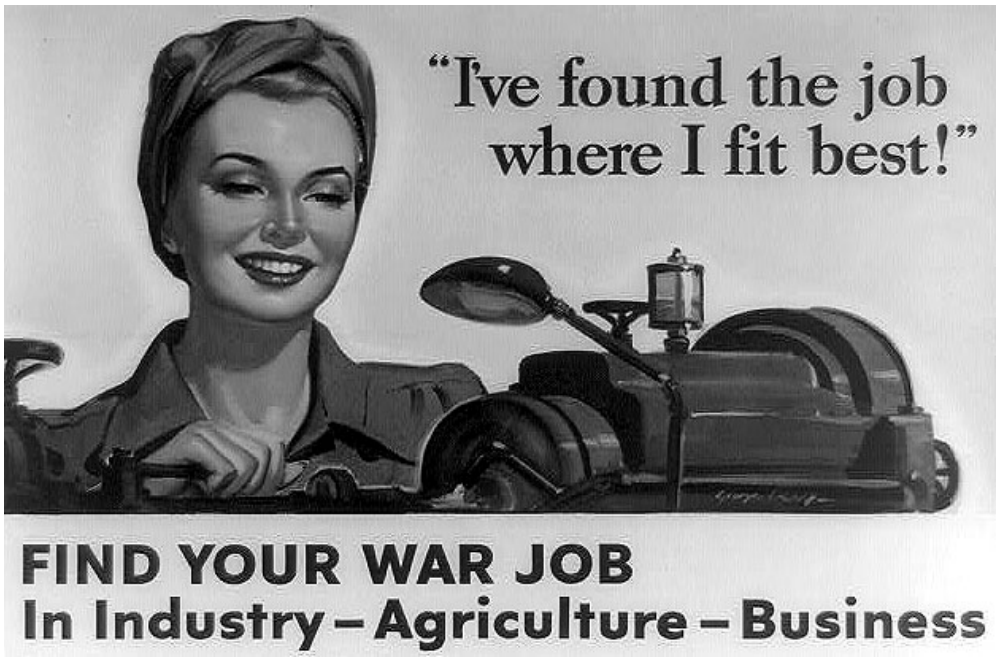
Despite wartime anxieties, frustrations, and sometimes personal or family tragedy, home front Americans enjoyed themselves. Some 85 million went to the movies every week, and box office receipts more than doubled from 1939 to 1945. Radios continued as key sources of news and entertainment. Book sales, especially paperbacks, rose sharply during the war. Comic book sales increased from 12 million copies monthly in 1942, to more than 60 million in 1946—with one-third of the population aged 18 to 30 reading them. Tens of millions avidly followed newspaper comic strips.

Vacation travel boomed, adding to the crowds at railroad and bus stations. Beaches on the East, West, and Gulf coasts were especially popular destinations. Tourism in Miami Beach increased by 20 percent in 1943, even though the Army had taken over most of the hotels for its own rest and recreation. Hotel reservations had to be made six weeks ahead of time, belying Miami's wartime slogan of "Rest faster here." Americans found diversion and entertainment in nightclubs, race tracks, golf courses, and sporting events and moneys spent on such recreational activities increased significantly during the war. On opening day in 1944, Hialeah racetrack took

[73] The peak year for civilian employment was 1943, with 54.5 million employed; the high point for the armed forces came in 1945 with 12.1 million personnel.
[74] Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 103; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 646-47; Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 98.
[75] Peter Fearon, *War Prosperity and Depression: The U.S. Economy, 1917-1945* (Deddington, England: Philip Allan, 1987), 271.

in a record $636,000, exceeding the previous high by $200,000. Total personal consumption on recreation and entertainment rose from $3.5 billion in 1939, to $6.1 billion in 1945.[76]

New Opportunities



This Office of War Information poster shows a woman contributing to the World War II production effort. Washington, D.C., 1943. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USZ62-99103].

Such data on employment, income, and spending reflect the enormous impact of World War II on the American economy and the American people. Yet the notion that the war somehow revolutionized the American class structure is exaggerated. Analysis of income shares, rather than income and spending levels, shows that the war in fact did little to redistribute income. On the one hand, the average personal income of the lowest 20 percent of families rose by 96 percent from 1941 to 1944, while that of the highest 20 percent of families rose by only 53 percent. On the other hand, the lowest 20 percent earned 4.1 percent of aggregate family personal income in 1941 and just 4.9 percent in 1944, while the share of the highest 20 percent of families fell only from 48.8 percent to 45.8 percent. And the dollar difference in income between the bottom and top 20 percent of families actually increased by about 50 per cent—rising from $4,946 in 1941, to $7,390 in 1944.[77]

But if the war and the wartime economy did not redistribute income to any substantial degree, it did provide opportunities and possibilities that tens of millions of Americans had never before experienced. Unemployed workers of the 1930s found employment during the war, or training, income, and experience (and later G.I. Bill benefits) in the armed forces. As a Navy veteran said, he had no plans on going to college before the war, and no resources to do so. "But the G.I. Bill changed everything. . . . It was the war and going into the service . . . that absolutely

[76] For good overviews of wartime spending on recreation, see: Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?*, 271-322, Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 92-105, and Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, 35-41.
[77] Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 61-64. See also Vatter, *U.S. Economy*, 142-44.

changed my life." Another man noted that he had only "a scrape-by job with very little to look forward to" before the war, but the war allowed him new opportunities, greater achievement, and rising expectations.[78]

Workers gained financially during the war years. Those who had been employed during the Depression decade now typically found themselves in better jobs at higher pay. Such "new immigrant" groups as Italian Americans and Polish Americans, who had largely been on the lower rungs of the occupational ladder, made economic gains that brought them more squarely into the mainstream. Women, African Americans, and other workers who had faced discrimination and constricted roles in the pre-war labor force often enjoyed new opportunities and better jobs during the war.

The stories of women and African Americans provide especially useful insights into the impact of the war and the combination of change and continuity on the home front. For women, the image of "Rosie the Riveter" came to symbolize the wartime experience and the understanding that in bringing far more women into the work force in a much greater array of jobs, the war established the foundations for dramatic change in women's roles and for postwar feminism. During the war, the number of women in the paid labor force increased by roughly 50 percent; and from 1940 to 1945, the proportion of women employed rose from 28 to 37 percent, and women's share of the labor force increased from 26 to 36 percent. Some 2.5 million more women worked in blue-collar jobs in 1944 than in 1940, and they were assigned a much greater range of jobs than ever before. Over 200,000 women worked in the shipyards and women constituted as much as half the workforce at West Coast aircraft plants like North American and Boeing. Half of the 13,500 people working at the Springfield Armory in Massachusetts were women. One-third of a million women served in the armed forces. Particularly among African American women, the war produced a shift from domestic jobs to better ones in industry.[79]

But as the historian David Kennedy has aptly written, "Rosie the Riveter might . . . have been more appropriately named Wendy the Welder, or more appropriately still Sally the Secretary, or even, as events were to prove, Molly the Mom."[80] Though women got a greater array of industrial jobs, they were more likely to be in such lesser-skilled jobs as welding than in riveting. Larger and longer-lasting employment gains were made in white-collar secretarial, clerical, and sales jobs than in factory work, and the "marriage bar" against married women in white-collar jobs began its rapid decline during the war.[81] The millions of women entering the labor force during the war were especially likely to be older married women with smaller child-care duties; and by 1945, married women and women over 35 constituted a majority of the female labor force for the first time. Employers and women workers alike often thought that women were holding jobs only "for the duration." Younger married women with children were much less likely to enter the labor force—for example, the proportion of married women with children under 6 in the labor force increased only from 9 to 12 percent. Once the war was over, younger women for the most part left the labor force (both voluntarily and involuntarily) or stayed out of

[78] Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 64-66.
[79] For excellent accounts of women during the war, see Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond* and D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change* (Boston: Twayne, 1987) is an important oral history collection.
[80] Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 779.
[81] Claudia D. Goldin, "The Role of World War II in the Rise of Women's Employment," *The American Economic Review* 81 (September 1991): 741-56; Claudia Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (New York: Oxford, 1990).

it, preferring to focus instead on marriage and motherhood. By 1947, the percentage of women in the labor force had dropped back to about 30 percent, roughly in line with the long-term trend.

This is not to say that the war made no difference in women's lives and ultimately in gender roles. For many women, the experiences of working for the first time, or working in new jobs, or staying home and having to manage the household while husbands were in the military, were important ones. They learned more about their own capacities, as did men and the larger society. As one woman aircraft worker put it, "For me, defense work was the beginning of my emancipation as a woman. For the first time in my life I found that I could do something with my hands besides bake a pie." A woman who took a white-collar job at Boeing Aircraft's huge Plant No. 2 in Seattle said that she had "found a freedom and an independence I had never known. . . . The war changed my life completely."[82] Together with rising educational levels, the end of the marriage bar, a changing post-industrial occupational universe with more white-collar jobs, the demands and enticements of the consumer culture, and changing societal values, the wartime experience certainly contributed to gender changes in postwar America.

For African Americans, the impact of the war was clearer and more decisive.[83] Eventually about one million African Americans entered the armed forces where they received education, training, and experience that they could apply after the war. Though many employers turned only reluctantly to black workers—preferring to exhaust the pool of older, younger, and female white workers first—eventually they had to do so, and from 1943 on the employment of black workers increased sharply. In this, the Fair Employment Practices Committee created by Roosevelt in 1941 under pressure from A. Philip Randolph and his March on Washington Movement made some difference, but the most important factor was simply the sheer need for willing and able workers.

The employment gains that African Americans made were often striking. Not only in the armed forces, but also in defense-related industry, longstanding patterns of discrimination, segregation, and exclusion remained common in the early 1940s. Of 100,000 aircraft workers in 1940, for example, only 240 were black—and most of them were employed as janitors. Slowly, and then more rapidly beginning in 1943, things began to change. African Americans (about 10 percent of the population) held just 3 percent of defense jobs in 1942, but increased to more than 8 percent in 1945. The number of blacks employed rose by about 20 percent during the war, but the number of African American foremen, craftsmen, and operatives doubled. The number of black civilian employees of the federal government tripled, and here, too, African Americans gained higher-status jobs. Although the gaps between white and black incomes and economic status narrowed, black median income was about half that of whites at the end of the war, and African Americans gained relatively little in professional, managerial, and white-collar jobs.

As important as the occupational and economic gains was the greatly increased migration of African Americans out of the rural South and toward the cities, especially in the Northeast and Midwest, and increasingly on the Pacific Coast. Those areas had the lion's share of the expanding defense plants and job opportunities, and nearly three-quarters of a million black civilians moved during the war. In all, the African American population of the 10 largest war

[82] Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 97-98.
[83] Neil A. Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War*, rev. ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1993) is an excellent overview. Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, *Transformation of the Negro American* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) and Norval D. Glenn, "Some Changes in the Relative Status of American Nonwhites, 1940 to 1960," *Phylon* XXIV (Summer 1963): 109-22, contain useful statistics and analysis that this section draws upon.

production centers rose by about 50 percent, and wartime occupational gains for African American men came mostly because of migration to northern industrial areas. From 1940 to 1950, the proportion of African Americans living in the South declined from 77 to 68 percent, while the proportion living in urban areas rose from 49 to 62 percent. The rising black activism of the war years was based not only on new opportunities, higher incomes, and rising expectations, but also on movement out of the South.

Demographic and Geographic Change

The population redistribution of African Americans was one of a number of major demographic changes triggered by World War II. Other particular demographic changes included an incipient marriage and baby boom that prefigured the great baby boom of the postwar years, and enormous streams of migration, especially toward the Sunbelt states of the West and South and toward the suburbs of metropolitan centers. In both cases, economic and military mobilization was key to what happened.

Because of the economic impact of the Great Depression, family formation and population growth had slowed in the early 1930s. Marriages and births picked up later in the decade, and then rose substantially in the first few years of the war. As the economy rebounded and the war loomed, the marriage rate (per 1,000 unmarried women aged 15 and over) rose from 73 in 1939 to 93.6 in 1942 before declining again to 84.5 in 1945. At least some of the marriages in 1940 and 1941 were the result of the passage of the Selective Service Act in September 1940, and the widespread assumption that husbands would be exempted from the draft. One survey reported that marriage rates had increased by 50 percent when debate about conscription began in the spring of 1940, and rose again just after Pearl Harbor. In February 1942, Selective Service Director Lewis Hershey said that he would act on "the presumption that most of the recent marriages . . . might have been for the purpose of evading the draft."[84] Reflecting hasty or ill-considered wartime marriages, the divorce rate also rose during the war, peaking in 1946.

Birth rates showed similar patterns to marriage rates and can be attributed to similar causes. Continuing a long-term decline accelerated by the onset of the Depression, the birth rate per 1,000 people fell from 21.3 in 1930, to 18.4 in 1933. It then rose to 19.4 by 1940 and shot up to 22.7 by 1943 before declining again until the true baby boom began in 1946. Some of the early 1940s births can be attributed to returning prosperity and married couples having deferred children. Some were "good-bye" babies conceived before the husband went off to war. While others were what might be called "stay-home" babies, conceived in the hope that fatherhood might exempt husbands from the military. Sharp rises in the birth rate came about nine months after the introduction and again after the passage of the Selective Service Act, and then ten months after Pearl Harbor. (One story told of a baby named "Weatherstrip" because it would keep his father out of the draft.) Some demographers mark the beginning of the baby boom not at 1946, but a half-decade or so earlier.[85]

The war set off even more dramatic demographic change with its impact on migration and population redistribution. Including journeys to both military bases and manufacturing centers, more than 30 million Americans—not far from one-fourth of the population—moved during the war. About 8 million people moved permanently to another state. Here, too, economic and military mobilization turned around 1930s levels of migration. With declining economic

[84] Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 634-35.
[85] Tuttle, "*Daddy's Gone to War,*" 18-29; Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 87-89; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 635.

conditions, and with prospects bleak in urban and rural American alike, migration had dropped sharply in the first half of the 1930s before picking up later in the decade. Then the war kicked off the enormous migration of 1940 to 1945. Indeed, wartime America's crowded trains, buses, and cars carrying people to new places and new experiences might serve as good symbols of the wartime experience.[86]

Here again the war reinforced and accelerated previous patterns of migration. As had been the case in the prewar years, the major migratory streams were out of rural areas and toward the Sunbelt states of the West Coast, Gulf Coast, and South Atlantic and toward metropolitan areas and their suburbs. Such established and vital industrial centers in the North as Detroit and Pittsburgh, and industrial areas in Indiana, Ohio, Connecticut, and elsewhere also attracted wartime migrants. Another growth area was Washington D.C., where population swelled with the influx of military, business, and government employees needed to handle economic and military mobilization.[87] Conversely, the long-term "depopulation" of rural America proceeded, especially in the South and Southwest. On average, about 1.5 million people left the farms every year during the war, and the total farm population fell by about 20 percent. By contrast, metropolitan areas grew by one-fifth and suburbs by one-third from 1940 to 1950.

Geographically, the great gains came in the West and the South. California and the other Pacific Coast states grew by about 50 percent during the 1940s (a figure, however, that was comparable in percentage to the region's growth in the 1920s, though much higher in absolute numbers of people). From Portland and Seattle in the Pacific Northwest, to San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego in southern California, people flocked to the region's aircraft and shipbuilding industries, to its scientific facilities, and to its military bases. The population of San Diego County grew by more than 40 percent from 1940 to 1944, Portland-Vancouver by nearly one-third, the San Francisco Bay area by about one-fourth. Such rapid growth meant that five of the eight most congested wartime centers (the three just mentioned plus the Puget Sound area and Los Angeles) were on the West Coast.[88] Most of the war workers and their families stayed on after the war, while many of the G.I.s who had passed through the Golden West returned. Wartime migration also meant a much larger African American presence than before in Los Angeles and other western cities, while Mexican Americans became more urbanized than before.

Southern coastal and urban areas also grew rapidly during the war because of migration. Thirty-nine of the forty-eight metropolitan areas in the South experienced major growth, especially Mobile, Charleston, and Norfolk, which ranked among the top four cities in terms of growth and congestion in the nation. Birmingham, Atlanta, and New Orleans all experienced war-related growth as well. Although some three million white and black Southerners—about one-fifth of the region's rural population—moved away from the rural South, the bustling military bases and defense plants and the population movement to the burgeoning defense centers in the region all gave a new dynamism to the South.

Indeed, wartime migration nationwide had a buoyancy far different from the dispirited wanderings of the Great Depression. In particular, defense workers on the move had a sense of

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[86] On wartime migration and population shifts, see: Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 69-87; Philip J. Funigiello, *The Challenge to Urban Liberalism: Federal-City Relations during World War II* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 3-38; Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 49-68; Henry S. Shryock, Jr., and Hope Tisdale Eldridge, "Internal Migration in Peace and War," *American Sociological Review* 12 (February 1947): 27-39.
[87] David Brinkley, *Washington Goes to War* (New York: Knopf, 1988).
[88] Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?*, 67-68.

optimism because of the prospects of finding jobs and bettering their lives. Yet the migrations of the war years were not without tensions. G.I.s had understandable anxieties and fears, especially if they were on their way overseas. Men and women entering military service and defense workers alike were often taken from isolated or insulated communities and thrown, often with feelings of dislocation and loneliness, into altogether different circumstances with new people and surroundings. And the neighbors of military bases and defense plants and the residents of communities where migrants moved in exhibited varying degrees of uncertainty, anxiety, and distaste for newcomers and the changes they brought or portended.[89]

Established communities feared and sometimes resented what at times seemed an invasion of newcomers who put pressure on housing, schools, and other essential infrastructure and who seemed different, even inferior, and threatening to community standards. As migrants found any housing available—substandard and subdivided older housing, shacks, trailer parks, tent camps, garages, sometimes even converted chicken coops and barns—they heard such epithets as "riff-raff" and "trailer trash." Among white migrants, poor whites from the mountain and rural South—known as "briarhoppers," "hillbillies," and "yokels,"—were particular objects of scorn in both the urban South and outside the South. Indiana received so many migrants from Appalachia that the joke circulated the nation had lost three states: "Kentucky and Tennessee have gone to Indiana, and Indiana has gone to hell." Michigan had its own version of that jest, but David Crockett Lee, a Tennessee migrant to Detroit, said that Detroit was "a city without a heart or a soul" and was returning home.[90]

The war-boom communities often proved reluctant even to provide basic services. To expand schools or sewerage or police and fire protection, for example, would raise taxes—and perhaps leave unneeded infrastructure once the war was over and the newcomers were gone. Despite sometimes desperate housing conditions and shortages, localities frequently resisted such limited federal housing as was available. Real estate and housing interests preferred temporary "demountable" structures that would not compete with private housing. The public feared depressed property values, unsightly housing, unwanted neighbors, and the possibility that defense housing would attract still more in-migrants.

The National Housing Authority, created by Roosevelt in 1942 to consolidate a variety of existing government agencies, eventually built more than 800,000 new units of defense housing. Although many of these were hastily-built, temporary structures, some, especially those constructed early in the war, incorporated the recommendations of leading housing reformers and were designed by internationally known Modern architects. Private construction accounted for another million housing units. Because many of these were insured by the government's 1941 Defense Housing Insurance program, they too reflected federal guidelines. Building materials, construction techniques, and large-scale subdivision planning practices developed to create wartime housing quickly and cheaply had a profound impact on postwar construction. William Levitt created the Levittowns that were probably the most famous of the huge postwar suburban developments in the late 1940s. But his first large-scale project was Oakdale Farms, wartime housing for workers at the Navy Yard and shipyards in the Norfolk/Newport News area in Virginia. The largest defense housing project was at Vanport City, built for workers at the

[89] For the circumstances of and reactions to wartime migrants, see Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 81-87; Tuttle, "*Daddy's Gone to War,"* 60-68; Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On"*, 76-90; Clive, *State of War*, 90-129, 170-84; Blair Bolles, "The Great Defense Migration," *Harper's Magazine*, October 1941, 460-67; and the other essays in this study.
[90] Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?*, 78; Clive, *State of War*, 182.

huge Kaiser shipyards in the Portland, Oregon area and reportedly housing as many as 40,000 people. Other projects included Willow Run Village in Michigan, Parkfairfax and Fairlington, outside Washington D.C., Middle River in Baltimore, and Midwest City in Oklahoma City. This new construction solved the worst of the housing problem—but at the cost of too many crowded, substandard dwellings during the war and the severe housing shortage after the war.[91]

African American migrants often encountered especially unfriendly receptions. As they moved by the thousands into crowded war production centers in the North and West, they added to the pressures on housing and community services, and threatened longstanding racial patterns and divisions. The presence of white Southern migrants in such areas often compounded the problems. In Detroit, tensions boiled over into conflict in 1942 and into a dreadful race riot in the summer of 1943—a summer disgraced by race riots elsewhere on the home front, including the anti-Mexican American "Zoot Suit Riots" in Los Angeles.[92]

Although it did not usually affect migrants, anti-Semitism also surfaced on the home front, and at times seemed to intensify. Opinion surveys showed an increase in anti-Semitic sentiment and stereotypes. The Fair Employment Practices Committee found job discrimination against Jews. In Boston and other East Coast cities there were incidents of Jewish synagogues and establishments being vandalized and even defaced by swastikas. From the late 1930s on, anti-Semitism helped prevent any significant action by the United States to help refugees fleeing from the Nazi Holocaust.[93]

There was another important side to the story that must be emphasized. Wartime migrations eroded old barriers and suspicions, diminished parochialism, and helped produce both a common cause and a shared national culture. Friendly welcomes and acts of kindness to the migrants were as much or more a part of wartime life as the cold shoulder. As old-timers and newcomers alike worked in defense jobs; took part in scrap, paper, and bond drives; celebrated triumphs and mourned tragedies on the battlefronts; even griped about shortages and red tape, they got to know each other better and distrust each other less. In the North and the South, the racial tensions and the riots of 1943 led to numerous inter-racial groups that became determined to combat racial discrimination. As ever, the home front experience was many-sided and complicated.

Politics

World War II dramatically changed the context of American politics and policymaking that had produced the New Deal and the new Democratic majority of the 1930s. Politics in the

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[91] Peter J. Reed, "Enlisting Modernism," in *World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation*, ed. Donald Albrecht (Cambridge, MA and Washington, D.C.: MIT Press and National Building Museum, 1995); Jeff Tully, "By Rivet or Hammer—Housing Wichita's World War II Defense Workers," ms., Kansas State Historic Preservation Office, 1996, n.p. See also Greg Hise *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

[92] See Harvard Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," *Journal of American History* 58 (December 1971): 661-81; Harvard Sitkoff, "The Detroit Race Riot of 1943," *Michigan History* LIII (Fall 1969): 183-206; Dominic J. Capeci, Jr., *The Harlem Riot of 1943* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977); Mauricio Mazon, *The Zoot Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984); and the essay in this study on African Americans and other minorities.

[93] Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 172-81; Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 138-39; David S. Wyman, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938-1941* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968); David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945* (New York: Pantheon, 1984).

Depression decade had turned above all on the domestic issues of hard times and the New Deal. The Great Depression and the unpopularity of Herbert Hoover and the Republicans had brought the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the White House and Democratic majorities in the House and Senate. The New Deal and Roosevelt's personal leadership then led to his overwhelming re-election victory of 1936. The president carried 46 of the 48 states and more than three-fifths of the popular vote, while Democrats had majorities of nearly 4-1 in the House and 5-1 in the Senate. The Democrats had changed from the seemingly hopeless minority party of the 1920s to the nation's new majority party. That majority was based upon the Roosevelt Coalition (or New Deal Coalition), rooted in great Democrat strength in the white Solid South, in metropolitan areas and among working- and middle-class voters, Catholic and Jewish ethnic groups, African Americans, and many farmers.[94]

The war restored prosperity, gave a new importance to foreign affairs and foreign policy, and raised a host of social, ethnic, and economic issues different from those of the 1930s. Such changes threatened both the New Deal and the Roosevelt Coalition, based as they were on Depression-era domestic issues. Yet World War II also helped make many New Deal programs permanent features of the political order. Indeed, what seems especially striking about wartime politics is the degree to which the term "politics as usual"—the pejorative phrase that both parties hurled at each other in the 1942 congressional elections—aptly characterized the home front. Not only did elections and the normal political rhythms prescribed by the American constitution continue during the war, but party issues and images, voting patterns, and even domestic policymaking were remarkably consistent with those of the mid- and late-1930s.

The 1940 election was really the first wartime election. The war contributed to Roosevelt's decision to seek an unprecedented third term, to public acquiescence in breaking that longstanding American tradition, and to the Republican party's nomination of dark horse candidate Wendell Willkie for president instead of the isolationist Senator Robert A. Taft or the youthful Thomas E. Dewey. The international situation and foreign policy figured in the autumn campaign as it had not for some two decades, although Willkie, a committed internationalist, refused to make the draft a campaign issue. Democratic support dropped sharply in Italian American and German American areas and among isolationists in the Midwest and other areas because of Roosevelt's increasingly interventionist, anti-Axis policies.

But what was perhaps more significant about the 1940 election was the continuity from the 1930s in issues and voting patterns. Roosevelt won his third term with a decisive 55 percent of the popular vote, and nearly 85 percent of those who voted in 1936 and 1940 voted the same way in both elections. Democrats again based their victory on powerful support from lower-income, ethnic, and black voters and on huge margins in urban areas and the South. Defense-induced prosperity helped shore up Roosevelt's support among some voters, and his anti-Axis internationalism among others. But the election turned chiefly on Roosevelt himself and his domestic record and public image from his first two terms. Security, especially economic security, was the dominant concern. Neither incipient prosperity nor threatening war had much deflected American politics from the patterns of the Depression decade.[95]

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[94] The discussion of politics that follows rests primarily on Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 145-69, and John W. Jeffries, *Testing the Roosevelt Coalition: Connecticut Society and Politics in the Era of World War II* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979).

[95] On the 1940 election, see also: Herbert S. Parmet and Marie B. Hecht, *Never Again: A President Runs for a Third Term* (New York: Macmillan, 1968); Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968); Samuel Lubell, "Post-Mortem: Who Elected

The mid-term congressional elections of 1942 then showed how international affairs and domestic prosperity might erode Democratic strength, especially with Roosevelt neither running for office himself nor actively campaigning. In retrospect, 1942 has been called "the year that doomed the Axis," but it often did not seem that way. For most of the year, bad news came from the battle fronts and reports of shortages and rationing, production snarls, and apparent bureaucratic mismanagement of the war effort came from the home front. Republicans charged that Democrats were bungling the war effort and promised to do better, and gained some four dozen seats in the House of Representatives and nine seats in the Senate. Although Democrats retained control of both houses (the House by a bare dozen votes), the coalition of Republicans and conservative (mostly Southern) Democrats that had emerged in the late 1930s now controlled the Congress ideologically. The 1943-44 Congress would prove a conservative one indeed.

Despite Republican gains, the basic socioeconomic, ethnic, and geographical divisions of the electorate in 1942 remained much like those of 1936 and 1940. Republicans appealed more to home front irritants and frustrations than to anti-New Deal sentiments. Democratic invocations of New Deal programs lacked force given the prosperity and war-related concerns of 1942. The election thus clearly revealed the vulnerability of Democrats and liberals to altered circumstances and concerns; but the election returns did not reflect fundamental electoral or ideological change. The ebbing strength of the Democratic party and the liberal agenda had begun in the late 1930s in any event.

The 1944 presidential election reflected both the continuing hold of the Democratic majority and the New Deal and the momentum of the forces challenging them. Roosevelt won a fourth term with 53 percent of the vote, and voting patterns remained highly consistent with 1936 and 1940. Indeed, nine of every ten people who voted in both 1940 and 1944 cast their ballots the same way—less change than in any pair of elections in the New Deal-Fair Deal era. Democrats significantly increased their majority in the House and, though they lost two more Senate seats, still controlled the Senate by a margin of 56-38. Even though the Roosevelt Coalition was smaller, but still fundamentally intact after a half-decade of global war and several years of booming prosperity, it had won another victory.

Public opinion polls, more important than ever to political calculations and strategy in 1944, showed why.[96] The dominant public concern—because of memories of the post-World War I recession and especially of the depressed economy of the late 1930s—was postwar prosperity and full employment; and with respect to the economy, Roosevelt and the Democrats had a clear edge in public confidence. Again in 1944, issues, party images, and voting patterns were highly consistent with the 1930s, and Roosevelt's domestic record and his identity as the champion of the common man and of economic security were decisive.

Yet there were new issues and emphases in 1944, some of them reflecting the impact of the war and foretelling important dynamics of postwar politics. Though Democratic victory was virtually assured and widely expected by November, foreign policy was a significant issue and both parties and presidential candidates campaigned on their ability to pursue an effective foreign policy to keep the peace. Republicans often stridently warned about communism at

Roosevelt?," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 25, 1941, 9ff.

[96] Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935-1946* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), is an invaluable compendium of opinion surveys in the era. Jerome S. Bruner, *Mandate from the People* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944), provides an illuminating analysis of American public opinion.

home and abroad in ways that anticipated important postwar issues. Though not yet significantly affecting Democratic strength, many white Southerners (like some of their increasingly anti-New Deal representatives in Washington) had grown more concerned about the liberalism and growing civil rights advocacy of the national Democratic party. The year 1944 proved to be the last year of the old Solid South.[97]

In other ways, too, the politics of 1944 reflected the continued ebbing of the reform impulse of the early New Deal era. In nominating Senator Harry Truman rather than the liberal incumbent Henry Wallace for vice-president on the Democratic ticket, and Dewey rather than Willkie for president on the GOP's, each party chose the more moderate over the more liberal candidate—though Truman was a reliable supporter of the New Deal, and Dewey accepted its core programs. Roosevelt at the end of the campaign advocated a far-reaching "economic bill of rights," but he was reelected not as the champion of new reform but as the symbol of jobs and security and the apparent architect of the double victory over the Axis and the Great Depression.[98]

Even Roosevelt's "economic bill of rights," highlighted by full employment and economic security, reflected changes in the liberal agenda. Most Democratic liberals no longer pressed for the far-reaching expansion of the regulatory-welfare state they had sought in the 1930s. Before the war, many had wanted comprehensive national planning and economic controls in a more powerful administrative state and a much-enlarged social-welfare state as well. By the end of the war, however, most New Dealers embraced the "compensatory state," in which government used its taxing and spending powers to achieve and maintain prosperity, while still providing for economic security. The prodigious wartime expansion had demonstrated the remarkable capacity of the American economy and fiscal policy seemed more practicable politically and more effective economically than planning and controls or a full-blown welfare state.[99]

The new liberal program was not simply a result of the war, however. Important New Deal economists and policymakers had become convinced that Keynesian fiscal policy could produce both recovery and reform even before the war. The liberal National Resources Planning Board's ambitious program for the postwar period, released in 1943, had been largely worked out before Pearl Harbor. Wartime developments demonstrated the power of deficit spending, corroborated Keynesian analysis, and enlarged the growing consensus behind Keynesianism, but they did not initiate or by themselves produce the new liberal agenda.[100]

Prewar trends continued in domestic policy, as well. The conservative coalition of Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats that controlled Congress, particularly after the 1942 elections, had emerged in the 1930s. Roosevelt continued to shift his energies and priorities from domestic policy to the war. In 1942 and 1943, such holdover New Deal agencies as the Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, and Farm Security

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[97] Dewey W. Grantham, *The Life and Death of the Solid South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988); Kari Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932-1968* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[98] On the 1944 election (and wartime politics more generally), see also Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 254-300; Polenberg, *War and Society*, 184-214, and V.O. Key, *The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966).

[99] Brinkley, *End of Reform*.

[100] John W. Jeffries, "The 'New' New Deal: FDR and American Liberalism, 1937-1945," *Political Science Quarterly* 105 (Fall 1990): 397-418.

Administration—programs that had small or politically weak clienteles or that seemed unnecessary during wartime mobilization and prosperity—were killed or severely weakened.[101]

Nonetheless, the heart of the New Deal regulatory-welfare state, with programs such as Social Security, banking regulation, and farm price supports, was not seriously challenged. The anti-labor Smith-Connally Act supplemented the Wagner Act and augured the postwar Taft-Hartley Act; but while it reflected a growing animus against organized labor, especially because of wartime strikes, it did not amount to a crippling blow to unions. By the war years, as the 1940 and 1944 presidential elections showed, the New Deal had become part of the political order and its major programs had large, politically powerful, and protective clienteles.

But if the New Deal would not be much reduced, neither would it be expanded. Efforts substantially to enlarge the New Deal continued to run afoul of the conservative Congress. The National Resources Planning Board saw its 1943 recommendations dismissed by the Congress, and was itself terminated.[102] Wartime programs on behalf of women, African Americans, and children expired at war's end.

The only substantial new social program enacted during the war was the G.I. Bill, and that measure was enacted not so much as a reform, but as a way to reward veterans. The political power of the G.I.s, and their families, neighbors, friends, and admirers, added to the bill's popularity with the bipartisan consensus that voted it into law. Whatever the motivations, however, the G.I. Bill—especially its educational and home-owning provisions—played a major role in the social mobility and economic improvement of the veterans and postwar America.[103]

With respect to the New Deal regulatory-welfare state, then, the war years in large part confirmed and reinforced dynamics of the late 1930s. After Roosevelt 's first term, the individualist anti-statism of the American political culture and the structural, institutional, and political constraints of the American political system on a powerful reformist state had reasserted themselves. Wartime priorities and prosperity reinforced such traditional obstacles to reform and strengthened the increasingly assertive congressional coalition. The core of the New Deal remained intact, but peripheral programs and new initiatives could not overcome the forces combining to blunt liberal reform.

Yet for all the continuities in politics, policymaking, and government, obvious change came as well. Though still the majority party, Democrats could not dominate politics, as the postwar election of 1946 demonstrated, when Republicans captured Congress for the first time in nearly two decades. Politics and policy veered in more conservative directions, and policymaking reflected not only the altered dynamics of power and the new significance of fiscal policy, but also changing priorities brought on by prosperity and national security concerns. The postwar liberal agenda that emphasized full-employment prosperity and civil rights was different in

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[101] On Congress and policymaking during the war, see Richard N. Chapman, *Contours of Public Policy, 1939-1945* (New York: Garland, 1981); Roland Young, *Congressional Politics in the Second World War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956); Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 221-54; Polenberg, *War and Society*, 73-98, 154-83, 215-37.
[102] Philip Warken, *A History of the National Resources Planning Board, 1933-1943* (New York: Garland, 1979); Patrick D. Reagan, *Designing a New America: The Origins of New Deal Planning, 1890-1943* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); Keith W. Olson, "The American Beveridge Plan," *Mid-America* 65 (April-July 1983): 87-99.
[103] Davis R. B. Ross, *Preparing for Ulysses: Politics and Veterans During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Keith W. Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974).

significant ways from the 1930s. The federal government was larger and more powerful than it had been before 1940, as were big business, big farming, and big labor. World War II had other diverse and sometimes diffuse effects on American politics, increasing the size and strategic importance of the non-Southern black vote because of wartime migration and propelling the G.I. generation to political activism and ultimately national leadership. Thus the war and wartime mobilization left their mark on the American political system too, even if not so visibly and fundamentally as on the nation's economy, society, and world role.[104]

[104] This essay examines national patterns of mobilization and its impact, but there are also a number of illuminating studies of the impact of World War II on states and localities, including: Brinkley, *Washington Goes to War*; Lowell J. Carr and James E. Stermer, *Willow Run: A Study of Industrialization and Cultural Inadequacy* (New York: Harper, 1952); Max Parvin Cavnes, *The Hoosier Community at War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961); Clive, *State of War*; Karl D. Hartzell, *The Empire State at War* (Albany: State of New York, 1949); Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerthon Morgan, *The Social History of a War-Boom Community* [Seneca, IL] (New York: Longmans, Green, 1951); Jeffries, *Testing the Roosevelt Coalition*; Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush*; Marc Scott Miller, *The Irony of Victory: World War II and Lowell, Massachusetts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); articles on "Fortress California at War," *Pacific Historical Review* 63 (August 1994); C. Calvin Smith, *War and Wartime Changes: The Transformation of Arkansas, 1940-1945* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1986); Robert G. Spinney, *World War II in Nashville: Transformation of the Homefront* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998); articles on Tennessee during World War II in *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 51 (spring 1992); Mary Watters, *Illinois in the Second World War*, 2 vols. (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1951-1952).

PART TWO: THE AMERICAN FAMILY ON THE HOME FRONT

A worker's family is shown behind their trailer in a Farm Security Administration housing project for Glenn L. Martin aircraft workers, Middle River, Maryland. Possible date, August 1943. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USW3-036024-C].

PART TWO: THE AMERICAN FAMILY ON THE HOME FRONT

William M. Tuttle, Jr.

> So comprehensive and fundamental are the changes wrought by war, and so closely is the family interrelated with the larger society, that there is perhaps no aspect of family life unaffected by war.[1]

Migration

Although the United States did not enter the Second World War until December 8, 1941, the American people began to feel its effects almost three years earlier. In January 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt submitted a $9 billion budget that contained $1.3 billion for national defense. Just a week later, he asked Congress for an additional $525 million for building a "two-ocean" navy, strengthening the nation's seacoast defenses, and manufacturing military aircraft. In March and April, Roosevelt requested further appropriations. Throughout 1940 and 1941, additional millions flowed into rearmament programs. During the war years, defense appropriations soared, and by 1945, the annual outlay for the Departments of War and Navy surpassed $80 billion.[2]

Clearly, by 1940 the home front war was already under way. "In a social and economic sense," wrote the sociologist Philip M. Hauser in 1942, "American participation in the war antedates December 7, 1941. The defense . . . programs had already been initiated when Pearl Harbor was attacked." Interstate migration was such a part of these changes that in March 1941 the Tolan Committee, which had been established by the House of Representatives the year before as the Select Committee to Investigate Interstate Migration of Destitute Americans, renamed itself the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. "As the defense program accelerated," one committee member observed, "a new problem emerged: the interstate migration of workers drawn to defense industries."[3]

The migration's importance begins with its sheer size and diversity. It began slowly in 1939, but by the end of the war, one of every five Americans had moved somewhere else. Between 1941 and 1945, the U.S. Census Bureau tracked America's population. A sample enumeration in March 1945 showed that about 15 million civilians were living in different counties from those in which they were living on December 7, 1941. Added to this figure is that for the military migration; by the end of the war, more than 16 million men and women had served in the armed forces. The total wartime migration between 1941 and 1945 thus exceeded 30 million people, or one-fifth of the nation's population. Over all, the war stimulated the largest mass movement of

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[1] James H. S. Bossard, "Family Backgrounds of Wartime Adolescents," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 236 (November 1944): 33.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1975), pt. 2, 1114-16.

[3] Philip M. Hauser, "Population and Vital Phenomena," *American Journal of Sociology* 48 (November 1942): 310; John Sparkman, "Two Years of Work by the Tolan Committee," *Congressional Record* 91 (July 20, 1942): A2849; U.S. House of Representatives, 76th and 77th Congresses, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens (later renamed Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration; hereinafter both committees are referred to as Tolan Committee), *Hearings*, pts. 1-34 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1940-1942).

the American population up to that time, and, equally important, as many as 25 million Americans who moved did not return to their hometowns after the war.[4]

Even these mobility figures are low, however, since numerous American families moved more than once during the war. Migrating from one Army or Navy base to another, or from one construction site or factory to another, were tens of thousands of men, women, and children. Some families were "camp followers," hopping between military installations. During the Second World War the wives and children in America's service families accompanied "Daddy" on his several reassignments until, finally, he was shipped overseas, and they could follow him no more. Camp following was a happy time for some families, a disaster for others.

Internal migration in the United States not only grew, it changed in composition as new streams of migrants took to the highways. Some moved as individuals, others as parts of families. By early 1941, for example, a million servicemen had moved to duty stations then being constructed in out-of-the-way places where land was cheap, but rental housing nonexistent. Paul V. McNutt, administrator of the Federal Security Agency and later head of the War Manpower Commission, testified that "some of the men of the armed forces will move their families with them, and this swells the size of the population of nearby communities." Still other migrants were moving to major defense-production areas. "The idle machines of Detroit, Chicago, and Pittsburgh," McNutt stated, "have begun to hum again and are tended partially by the local unemployed and partially by the newcomers from surrounding areas."[5]

Millions of men and women entered the armed forces. In 1939, only 334,473 military personnel were on active duty. Two years later, the figure had spiraled to 1.8 million. In 1942 it reached 3.9 million, and in 1943 it more than doubled to 9 million. The total rose again in 1944, and in 1945 it peaked at a little over 12 million. As Americans flocked to the nation's war factories as well as its induction centers, unemployment plummeted, falling from 9.5 million people in 1939 to its wartime low in 1944 of 670,000.[6]

While soldiers' and sailors' families constituted a large part of the wartime migration, this stream was secondary in size to the flood of men, women, and children flowing into war-production areas. One such place was Childersburg, Alabama, which, in December 1940, was selected as the site of the $80 million Alabama Ordnance Works, to be built by the federal government and operated by DuPont to produce explosives. Paul McNutt expressed concern about Childersburg's future. "A southern town of 500," he said, "is expected to attain a population of at least 5,000 as a result of a nearby military establishment with an aggregate military strength of 13,000 men." The town lacked a bank, a hotel, and a movie theater; vacant houses were rare, apartments nonexistent; and Childersburg's water supply was even "inadequate for its normal

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[4] Conrad Taeuber, "Wartime Population Changes in the United States," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 24 (July 1946): 236-37; Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Bicentennial Edition*, pt. 2, 1141; Ewan Clague, "Problems of Migration," National Conference of Social Work, *Proceedings* 72 (1945): 66-67; H. J. Locke, "Family Behavior in Wartime," *Sociology and Social Research* 27 (March-April 1943): 278-79; Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family: From Institution to Companionship* (New York: American Book Company, 1945), 666-68; Hauser, "Population and Vital Phenomena," 314; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Internal Migration in the United States: April 1940, to April 1947*, series P-20, no. 14 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1948), 1-2; Stephen Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 155-57; *New York Times*, April 11, July 13, 1944; March 10, 1945.

[5] Tolan Committee, *Hearings*, pt. 11, 4321-23; pt. 25, 9774-75; pt. 27, 10317-24.

[6] Ibid., pt. 1, 126; pt. 2, 1141.

from the outside." Certain ethnic groups, such as Polish Americans in Detroit and Italian Americans in Chicago, were particularly hostile to the African American newcomers, whom they both feared and hated.[11]

The largest wartime population shift was from farms and small towns to cities. The rural population of Oklahoma, Kansas, and other plains states, for example, decreased by about one-fourth between 1941 and 1945. The major loser, however, was the South, which contributed five times as many people between 1941 and 1945 as it had between 1935 and 1940. In November 1943, midway in the war, the Census Bureau counted the number of ration book registrations and concluded that the metropolitan population had risen precisely at the expense of rural America. During the Second World War, one of eight rural Americans left the farm forever.[12]

Moreover, it was younger families who were migrating. The Census Bureau classified 21 percent of the children born between 1940 and 1947 as "migrants," noting that the proportion of children actually eclipsed that of adult migrants. The greater mobility of the children "may be partially explained by the younger average age of the parents involved . . . younger adults always being the most mobile."[13] This seemed to be especially true for farmers with young families. As Conrad Taeuber, the demographer, pointed out, "Two-thirds of the young [farm] men who had been between 20 and 25 years of age in 1940 had migrated or entered the armed forces by 1945." The exodus from the farm included many children. From April 1940 to April 1944, the number of farm children under age fourteen decreased by 1.2 million, evidence that families were on the move. In August 1942, an expert on defense housing estimated that of the additional 1.6 million war workers who would relocate by July 1943, only one-third would move as individuals. Families "were fairly mobile," Taeuber explained, "when children were young, less so when the children had reached adolescence."[14]

During the Second World War, farm and small-town families migrated to the booming bomber factory at Willow Run, Michigan, to the massive shipyards in the San Francisco Bay area, and to numerous Army bases and Navy posts scattered across the United States. For all these migrants, life was radically different in the "war-boom" areas, such as Los Angeles County, which between April 1940 and October 1943 experienced an influx of 568,143 migrants. Many migrants to war-production areas brought their children with them. From 1940 to 1943, the number of children under five increased by 135.6 percent in Wilmington, North Carolina; 127.7 percent in

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[11] Ralph N. Davis, "The Negro Newspapers and the War," *Sociology and Social Research* 27 (May-June 1943): 373-80; E. Franklin Frazier, "Ethnic and Minority Groups in Wartime, with Special Reference to the Negro," *American Journal of Sociology* 48 (November 1942): 367-77; A. Philip Randolph, "Why Should We March?" *Survey Graphic* 31 (November 1942): 488-89; Jack Yeaman Bryan, "The In-Migrant Menace,'" *Survey Midmonthly* 81 (January 1945): 9; Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 45; Lowell Juilliard Carr and James Edson Stermer, *Willow Run: A Study of Industrialization and Cultural Inadequacy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), 244.

[12] Bureau of the Census, *Internal Migration in the United States*, 4; Conrad Taeuber, "Recent Trends in Rural-Urban Migration in the United States," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 25 (April 1947): 203-13; Taeuber, "Wartime Population Changes in the United States," 236-39; Henry S. Shryock, Jr., and Hope Tisdale Eldridge, "Internal Migration in Peace and War," *American Sociological Review* 12 (January 1947): 27-36; Hauser, "Population and Vital Phenomena," 314-15; *New York Times*, November 7, 1944.

[13] Bureau of the Census, *Internal Migration in the United States*, 2, 4.

[14] Taeuber, "Wartime Population Changes in the United States," 236-39; Locke, "Family Behavior in Wartime," 278; *New York Times*, July 13, November 7, 1944; March 10, July 5, 1945.

population. . . . There is no sewer system whatever. . . . There is no pasteurized milk available in the area. . . . There are no hospital facilities within a distance of 40 miles." These fears were confirmed when the plant was in operation. Childersburg was one of the places where observers reported that beds were being rented in shifts for wartime workers, a much-reported phenomenon known as "hot beds."[7]

During the war, one of the major destinations of American families was the Pacific Coast. In the first two months of 1942 alone, a million people migrated to California, Oregon, and Washington. Texas, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada also received large numbers of soldiers, sailors, and defense families. States along the East Coast also expanded especially Florida, Virginia, Maryland, and Connecticut. The District of Columbia, with its large influx of government workers, boomed in population. Likewise, in the North the Great Lakes region grew rapidly, with large numbers of people seeking war jobs in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio.[8]

For millions of Americans, the war provided the jobs for which they had yearned throughout the dismal years of the Great Depression. For example, on the Great Plains in the 1930s, farmers had suffered "hard times," first because of falling prices and then because of drought and dust storms, But then, explained Fred Seaton, a Nebraska newspaper publisher, "all of a sudden, the Government began taking our young men and women into the civil service, and the mechanics into the defense plants. And, of course, the draft has taken some of our boys, too." In fact, Nebraska was losing its brightest, most ambitious young people—high school graduates "accustomed to handling machinery and accustomed to making decisions."[9]

Large numbers of African Americans were also on the move. Indeed, the black population was more mobile than the white population. During the 1940s, almost 1.5 million southern blacks relocated to the North and West. In 1940, only 48 percent of African Americans were urban dwellers, and 77 percent still lived in the states of the old Confederacy; in 1950, the figures were 62 percent and 68 percent. On the West Coast, for example, between 1940 and 1945, Los Angeles's black population swelled from 75,000 to 135,000 and San Francisco's from 4,800 to 20,000. Smaller communities registered even bigger proportional changes. Drawn by jobs in the Kaiser shipyards, for example, Vancouver, Washington's black population jumped from 4 to 4,000.[10]

In many defense areas, African Americans were entering communities where black newspapers and civil rights groups had long been unflinching in their advocacy of racial equality. Still, enormous problems awaited blacks in war-boom communities. At its rawest, there was white hatred. Whites, a city official in Cleveland explained, perceived "the in-migrants as a menace

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[7] Tolan Committee, *Hearings*, pt. 11, 4326; pt. 20, 8110; John Dos Passos, "Gold Rush Down South," in *America at War: The Home Front, 1941-45*, Robert Polenberg, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 125. See also Loula Friend Dunn, "The Powder-Mill Town," *Journal of Education Sociology* 15 (April 1942): 460-72.
[8] Bureau of the Census, *Internal Migration in the United States*, 1, 6; Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Wartime Shifts of the Civilian Population," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 25 (July 1947): 270; Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Redistribution of Population: 1940 to 1950," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 46 (December 1951): 417-37.
[9] Tolan Committee, *Hearings*, pt. 22 ("Case Histories of Agricultural Displacement"), 8435-51, 8467-82, 8532-41.
[10] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Internal Migration in the United States*, 1, 6; Reynolds Farley and Walter R. Allen, *The Color Line and the Quality of Life in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 113; Carey McWilliams, *Brothers Under the Skin* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951), 7-8; Hauser, "Population and Vital Phenomenon," 314; Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the West, 1528-1990* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 251-77.

Pascagoula, Mississippi; 80.1 percent in Wichita, Kansas; 60.4 percent in Savannah, Georgia; and by large percentages in Galveston, Fort Worth, and Beaumont-Port Arthur, Texas.[15] Although the main goal was a good job, patriotism also fueled the migration. In remaking their lives, the migrants demonstrated not only their ambition, but also their willingness to take risks. These qualities were admirable, even heroic; indeed, the migrants had become America's new pioneers. Sometimes, however, the resolve of these pioneers flagged in the face of the prejudice and hostility that awaited them, especially from established settlers who saw them as anything but heroic. Willow Run is an example. There the residents decried "the invasion" that was besieging them. Of the migrants to Willow Run, those most despised, if not hated, were whites from Appalachia and African Americans from the Deep South.[16]

Migrant housing was a disgrace. Home front children recalled overcrowding and dilapidation. Corinne Brown's family lived in a "dump" in Omaha. "Housing was impossible to obtain," and she judged that "that house today would be condemned!" Corroborating the children's memories are the House Naval Affairs Subcommittee's hearings. Dr. Herbert R. Stolz, a medical doctor and assistant superintendent of schools in Oakland, told about two Oklahoma families consisting of four adults and eleven children who lived in a single room; they slept on the floor and cooked on a one-burner hotplate. At another address, two families with a total of twelve people slept in the same room, but as Dr. Stolz explained, "They don't all sleep at the same time—it's a 'hot bed' up there." In another single room lived a family of seven, including a child who had tuberculosis; "The mother is trying to isolate it in one corner of a room and there are these two adults and five children and no toilet in the place at all." Yet, as bad as the overcrowding was for whites, for black families it was even worse. Clearly, explained a housing official, "there is no money in housing the poorest people well." But there were handsome profits to be made in housing poor people poorly.[17]

Middle-class migrant families also faced deplorable housing conditions. They too lived in cramped quarters and paid exorbitant rents, in spite of the Office of Price Administration's (OPA) efforts to control rents in defense areas. Regardless of race or class, families with children suffered the most. Landlords evicted families and replaced them with single war workers who collectively paid much higher rents. Landlords also specified in newspaper advertisements that they were interested in renting to "married couples only" or to "adults only." Couples with children complained that their landlords failed to make repairs or to exterminate bugs, in the hope of encouraging them to go elsewhere. Because of an infestation of cockroaches, Bill Ratell, a welder at the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, wanted to move his wife and two infants to another apartment. But, as he told the Tolan Committee, "When I mention

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[15] U.S. House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., Subcommittee of the Committee on Naval Affairs, *Investigation of Congested Areas* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943), 836, 1780; "Educational Planning in Areas of Intensive War Activities," *Education for Victory* 3 (September 4, 1944): 4.

[16] Carr and Stermer, *Willow Run*, 39, 49, 356-57; Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population, Labor Force, Families, and Housing, Detroit-Willow Run Congested Production Area: June 1944*, Series CA-3, no. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1944), 19.

[17] William M. Tuttle, Jr., *"Daddy's Gone to War," The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 64; House Subcommittee on Naval Affairs, *Investigation of Congested Areas*, 661-62, 789-93, 798-99, 802-3, 833-34. Regarding housing problems in war-boom communities, see the wealth of testimony in Tolan Committee, *Hearings*, pts. 11, 13-15, 17-18, 25, 32; pages 4498-4505, 4551-60, 4878-83, 4878-4904, 5131-44, 5561-65, 5738-43, 5889-90, 5937, 6248-53, 6429-43, 6626-33, 6851-52. 6904-13, 7109-17, 7239-57, 7568-69, 9888-91, 11983-88 passim., 11993-95, 12251-52. The Tolan Committee also published migration surveys of 52 cities done by the Work Projects Administration; see *Hearings*, pt. 27, 10449-10627.

children they don't want to talk to me any more." Responding that this practice was spreading all over the country, Chairman Tolan sadly observed: "It used to be an honor to have a large family, but it seems to be a handicap now."[18]

The federal government belatedly recognized the wartime housing problem. Some of its measures were stopgaps; for example, the National Housing Agency launched a "Share Your Home" campaign, urging families to "move over" and make room for the migrants. And families responded. An estimated 1.5 million families shared houses, flats, and apartments with relatives, friends, and strangers.[19]

While commendable, voluntary efforts were inadequate. Leaders in industry and labor urged the government to build emergency housing. During the war, the government did produce about two million dwelling units—by building low-cost housing projects and by converting other buildings into apartments. Massive war workers' villages sprang up across the country, from Kaiser's Vanport in Oregon to Fairlington near the newly completed Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. Some had quaint names, like Hilltop Manor and Planeview, both in Wichita. Many of these wartime projects were cheaply constructed and intended to be temporary, but for some home front children, government housing represented a major improvement in their standard of living. Marsha Spencer was ten years old in 1942 when her family moved into Redbank Village, which housed shipyards workers in South Portland, Maine. "How exciting this was to move into a brand new house!"[20]

But defense housing continued to be in short supply. Beyond the nation's "critical war needs," explained the National Housing Agency, "we were not able to spare materials and manpower to take care of the normal new housing needs of the nation, to accommodate the increased number of families, or to replace substandard housing or slums." In short, about two million migrating war workers and their families—half the total—had to find quarters "in existing dwellings," which were terribly overcrowded and consigned many home front children to squalor. In Washington, D.C., once elegant mansions on Massachusetts Avenue were subdivided and subdivided again, until there were sometimes as many as six unrelated people sharing a single library or reception hall.[21]

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[18] Tolan Committee, *Hearings*, pts. 13-14, 17; pages 5131-41, 5561-65, 6909-10; Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 64; D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 169-72; *New York Times*, March 4, 1943; Alan Clive, *State of War: Michigan in World War II* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), 103.

[19] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 65-66; Clive, *State of War*, 104; Mintz and Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions*, 156; Mark Jonathan Harris et al., *The Homefront: America during World War II* (New York: Putnam's 1984), 42-43.

[20] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 66-67; Clive, *State of War*, 105-6; Faith M. Williams, "The Standard of Living in Wartime," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 229 (September 1943): 120-21; John B. Blandford, Jr., "Wanted: 12 Million New Houses," *National Municipal Review* 34 (September 1945): 376-77; Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier, Pt. l: Democracy in the Old Northwest," *Political Science Quarterly* 69 (September 1954): 321-53; Harris et al., *The Homefront*, 41-44.

[21] Blandford, "Wanted: 12 Million New Houses," 376-77; Rilla Schroeder, " Housing in the Battle for Production," *Independent Woman* 21 (January 1942): 4-6, 27; Kathryn R. Murphy, "Housing for War Workers," *Monthly Labor Review* 54 (June 1942): 1257-77; "Housing Provided in 138 Defense Areas," *Monthly Labor Review* 55 (December 1942): 1203-12; Edward Weinfeld, "New York State Faces War Housing Issues," *National Municipal Review* 31 (December 1942): 584-90; "New Housing in Nonfarm Areas," *Monthly Labor Review* 56 (April 1943): 652-60; Edmund N. Bacon, "Wartime Housing," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 229 (September 1943): 128-37; Helen Weigel Brown, "Uncle Sam Houses His Children," *Parents' Magazine* 19 (January 1944): 39, 79-81; Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: Capital City, 1879-1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963),

In Richmond, California, spectacular growth and housing shortages combined with cultural hostility to plague incoming families. In April 1940, Richmond had a population of 23,642. Located diagonally north across the bay from San Francisco, it was a port city. According to Zelma Parker, the city's supervisor of child welfare in the public schools, Richmond was "a nice little American town." Within three years, however, the U.S. Maritime Commission had constructed four shipyards, employing 90,000 people. In addition, various industries built or expanded factories and refineries there, including the Ford Motor Company, Standard Oil of California, the Pullman Company, and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad. By April 1943, Richmond's population had soared to 135,000. Children were everywhere. "Teachers are so busy registering new pupils," Zelma Parker wrote, "that regular classes cannot be held. School rooms are filled with unfamiliar looking children. Shock-headed, dressed differently, dirty, poor teeth, rickets, queer talk." The influx of so many people put severe strains on the city's housing, educational, health, and welfare facilities. Richmond exemplified problems common to many war-boom areas: racism, nativism, and classism. As Parker explained, the influx not only strained but frequently exceeded the "natives'" tolerance. "'Peace on earth, good will toward men.' But not good will," Parker stated, "to the Okies, the Arkies, and the Texans."[22]

Selective Service

Of all the family members who played a role in winning the war, it was the fighting man—the father and brother—who was the center of his family's hopes, fears, and prayers. America's men, and 350,000 women, responded to their nation's call to arms. Many American men were drafted in accordance with the Selective Service Act of 1940. The first draft numbers were selected on October 29, 1940, and 1.2 million men were inducted. Still, a year later, fewer than 2 million people were serving on active duty. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, however, this changed dramatically, and by the end of the war, more than 16 million women and men had served in the Army, Navy, and Marines. Virtually every one of these men and women was a family member: a son, father, husband, brother, or a mother, wife, daughter, sister.[23]

Actually, few fathers were drafted during the first three years of the Selective Service System. Selective Service Class III-A protected men with dependents from induction. A year later, 10 million of the 16 million selective service registrants were classified III-A. Rather than draft fathers, Selective Service first lowered the draft age for the unmarried, then began drafting "less-well-qualified men," both physically and educationally. A full-fledged debate on the conscription of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers did not begin until late 1942. While some politicians contended that it was essential to draft all able-bodied men, including fathers, others responded that there were still plenty of single men available and that Selective Service could fill its quotas by conscripting "those unmarried men who shun work and are found in pool rooms, barrel houses, and on the highways and byways." During the first half of 1943, Congress debated legislation to exempt fathers altogether, but adjourned before passing a bill. In the interim, Selective Service, which predicted that there would be a shortage of almost 450,000 in filling

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[22] Zelma Parker, "Strangers in Town," *Survey Midmonthly* 79 (June 1943): 170-71; Hubert Owen Brown, "The Impact of War Worker Migration on the Public School System of Richmond, California, from 1940 to 1945" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1973), 169-78, 227-31, 289-306.

[23] J. Garry Clifford and Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., *The First Peacetime Draft* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 200-34.

calls if fathers were not considered, simply abolished Class III-A as of October 1, 1943, thus removing the ban on drafting fathers.[24]

In October 1943, the number of fathers drafted was 13,300, or 6.8 percent of the total. In November the figure doubled to 25,700 (13.4 percent), and in December it doubled again to 51,400 (26.5 percent). It continued to rise, and in April 1944 more than half of the inductees (52.8 percent, or 114,600 men) were fathers. The figure declined after April only to rise again between February and June 1945. Indeed, between October 1943 and December 1945, the number of fathers drafted was 944,426, or 30.3 percent of the total. By V-J Day, of the 6.2 million classified fathers ages 18-37, one-fifth were in the service; of the youngest fathers, ages 18-25, more than half (58.2 percent) were on active duty.[25]

Statistics do not exist to tell how many wives and children suffered from the absence of a husband and father during the war, but it is possible to estimate their numbers. In June 1945, a total of 2.8 million Army wives (and about 1.8 million children) received family allowances from the Office of Dependency Benefits; in line with this, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that there were three million Army wives. At that time there also were 3.9 million persons in the Navy and Marines, an estimated 35 percent (1.3 million) were married. Thus the total of armed forces wives exceeded four million. Nearly one family of every five, or 18.1 percent, contributed one or more family members to the armed forces during the war.[26]

While some fathers were drafted, others volunteered. But whether draftee or volunteer, "Daddy's" departure was often traumatic. Many of these farewells took place in crowded railroad stations. Carol Helfond's family escorted her father to the station. "My mother held up well until the train carrying my father pulled away. Then she ran into a phone booth and sobbed her heart out." Ruth Ann Grinstead was eight when her father joined the Navy, leaving her mother with the sole responsibility for ten children. Seeing the human interest angle in this sailor's departure, a newsreel company staged the event and filmed it. "We were all lined up on the sidewalk in front of our home, with mom holding the baby and my Dad walking away from us, and we all waved goodby." Her father actually left the next day, and, later, the family went to the local theater "to see the newsreel of us waving my Dad goodby, and we all cried."[27]

For numerous families, the operative issue was not so much the absence of the father as it was the manner in which the mother responded to that absence. Some mothers were devastated by

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[24] *Selective Service as The Tide of War Turns: The 3rd Report of the Director of Selective Service 1943-1944* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1945), 53, 73-79, 131-35, 164-70, 586; John Modell and Duane Steffey, "Waging War and Marriage: Military Service and Family Formation, 1940-1950 (unpublished paper), 4; *Congressional Record*, vol. 88, A3799-3801; Vol. 89, 7625, 7628, 7802-3, 7821-22, 7846-57, 8118, 8750-51, 9801-2, 9811, A3334, A3811, A3875, A3881, A4012, A5104; vol. 90, 155-59; *New York Times*, August 19, 1942, March 11, October 17, December 11, 1943.

[25] *Selective Service and Victory: The 4th Report of the Director of Selective Service* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1948), 597; Selective Service System, Special Monograph No. 8, *Dependency Deferment* (Washington, D.C.: Selective Service System, 1947), 79-80; John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 188-89.

[26] Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Bicentennial Edition*, pt. 2, 1141; Army Service Forces, Office of Dependency Benefits, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1944* (Newark, NJ: Office of Dependency Benefits, 1945), 72-73; Army Service Forces, Office of Dependency Benefits, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1945* (Newark, NJ: Office of Dependency Benefits, 1946), 15; Creighton J. Hill, "Congress and the Fathers' Draft," *Senior Scholastic* 42 (October 11-16, 1943): 15; William G. Truxall and Francis E. Merrill, *The Family in American Culture*, (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1947), 299, 570; Mintz and Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions*, 167, 174.

[27] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 32.

the separation. Leona Gustafson, who was four when her father reported for induction, recalled that "beginning on the first night Dad left . . . my mother had awakened me with her crying. I can remember going into her room and stroking her forehead while telling her every thing would be all right, that Daddy would be home as soon as he could. I became what I was to remain for the rest of my mother's life—her daughter, her best friend and, in a sense, her mother."[28]

Among America's unheralded home front heroes were those grandparents who took in daughters, daughters-in-law, and a multitude of grandchildren. Some children moved in with their grandparents for a few months or a year, while others became part of the household for the war's duration. One grandmother suggested that "If anyone should ask for a name for this war, it's 'Grandmother's War'."[29]

Numerous children lived in families of women. "While my Father was overseas," stated Rachel Love, born in 1938, "my Mother and I lived with Grandmother in her house." Two aunts with husbands in the service and another girl, a cousin, also resided there. "It was a house made up entirely of women. The sisters all worked and my grandmother looked after the children." Anita McCune, whose father was a Marine fighting in the South Pacific, lived with her mother Eva, her Aunt Goldie, her thirteen-year-old sister Lahoma, and Aunt Goldie's daughter Margaret Ann, who, like Rachel, was seven. "Most of the time it was just us five women," she remembered, and they prospered. Her mother and aunt raised chickens and slaughtered them in the backyard, and they painted and fixed up their old house.[30]

The major impact of the war, of course, was on America's soldiers and sailors. Military service demanded enormous personal adjustments. Like cartoonist Bill Mauldin's popular G.I. characters Willy and Joe, who were more interested in tasty food and dry socks than in abstractions, millions of G.I.s were simply eager to get it over with. Soldiers and sailors who never had been more than a few miles from home became homesick; G.I.s joked, somewhat bitterly, about having found a new home in the Army. But loneliness was inconsequential compared with the intense fear that soldiers admitted to feeling in battle. Combat veterans told a group of psychologists that a man who burst into tears was "not regarded as a coward unless he made no apparent effort to stick to his job." American troops served overseas for an average of sixteen months. Many never returned: total deaths were over 400,000. In terms of lost American lives, the cost of the war was second only to the losses on both sides during the Civil War.[31]

Most men who served in the war were husbands, sons, fathers, or brothers, or perhaps all four. Their lives were at risk, and tens of millions of close relatives worried about them. Child experts

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[28] See John A. Clausen, "American Research on the Family and Socialization," *Children Today* 46 (1978): 7-10; Ruth Shonle Cavan, *The American Family* (New York: Crowell, 1953), 553; Reuben Hill et al., *Families under Stress: Adjustment to the Crises of War Separation and Reunion* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), 50-74; Florence Hollis, "The Impact of the War on Marriage Relationships," National Conference of Social Work, *Proceedings* 70 (1943): 109-10.

[29] Hill, et al., *Families under Stress*, 64-65; *New York Times*, August 18, 24, 1942; May 16, 1943; Clifford A. Strauss, "Grandma Made Johnny Delinquent," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 13 (April 1943): 343-46; Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change* (Boston: Twayne, 1987), 64, 208, 231.

[30] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 35.

[31] See Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., *The American Soldier*, vol. 2, *Combat and Its Aftermath* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1949); Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Bicentennial Edition*, pt. 2, 1140.

advised mothers to give frank answers to their children's questions. "'No, we don't know how long Daddy will be gone. . . . Yes, of course we hope Daddy will come back safe, and we believe he will. Yes, some men will be killed on our side too, but that is what war means. . . . No, you will not be alone. If Daddy doesn't come back I will still take care of you.'"[32]

The only communication with men overseas was by mail, but these letters maintained essential connections, no matter how imperfectly, between the soldiers and sailors and their home front families. When war separated a family, wrote James H. S. Bossard, a sociologist of the family, "a face-to-face relationship gives way to a letter-to-letter relationship." Letters told war stories, and they offered advice to the boys and girls. Letters often concerned family responsibilities. It "looks like it might be a while before your daddy sees you again," Will Whortle, an Army surgeon, wrote his eight-year-old daughter Susan. "You must in the meantime be a good girl. Be a help to your Mother and always do the things she tells you to because she knows best and is older and wiser. Study hard in school. Then when the war is over we will have a lot of fun together. Your part . . . is to be good & work hard & help Mother with the boys."[33]

Blue and Gold Star service flags were displayed in the front windows of homes across the United States. Hanging from a gold cord with a field of white bordered in red, the flag had a star in the middle. A blue star showed that a family member was in the service; a gold star signified that a father, husband, brother, or son had been killed in the war. Some 183,000 home front children suffered the loss of their fathers in action.[34]

In assessing the impact of the Second World War on America's families, it is clear that the most devastating event was the death of a husband, son, brother, or father. Without exception, home front families that experienced such losses have stated that the war turned their lives upside down. The war "totally changed my life," wrote Kay Britto, "It took away two brothers I never got to know, brought great grief to my parents and changed our whole family structure." Bill Moore was twelve years older than his sister Erlyn, but she idolized him. Bill was her mother's favorite too. In 1941 he joined the Army Air Corps and became a bomber pilot. When he was shipped overseas, his young wife and baby girl moved in with the Moores. On September 27, 1944, his bomber was lost over Germany, and the life went out of his family. "As the years went by Bill stood higher and higher on the pedestal mom had put him on. He was the last one in her thoughts when she died at 81 in 1980." As for Erlyn, she named her first son Bill. She often talked with her children about him. "I want them to know him. . . . Not a day goes by that I don't think of him."[35]

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[32] "Answers Given to Child's Questions about War," *Science News Letter* 41 (June 20, 1942): 395.

[33] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 42; Truxall and Merrill, *Family in American Culture*, 571; Annette Tapert, editor, *Lines of Battle: Letters from American Servicemen, 1941-1945* (New York: Times Books, 1985), 86-87. On the importance of letters during the war, see the following: Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith, "'Will He Get My Letter?' Popular Portrayals of Mail and Morale During World War II," *Journal of Popular Culture* 23 (Spring 1990): 21-43; *Miss You: The World War II Letters of Barbara Wooddall Taylor and Charles E. Taylor*, Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith, eds. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990); *Since You Went Away: World War II Letters from American Women on the Home Front* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); *Dear Boys: World War II Letters from a Woman Back Home* (University: University Press of Mississippi, 1991).

[34] Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Bicentennial Edition*, pt. 2, 1140; Thomas J. Woofter, Jr., "Paternal Orphans," *Social Security Bulletin* (October 1945), 5-6; Edward E. Schwartz to Dr. Eliot, December 26, 1944, in Records of the Children's Bureau, Record Group 102, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

[35] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 47; Gladys Denny Shultz, "'We Regret to Inform You,'" *Better Homes & Gardens* 22

Women's Role

Women's contributions—in war-production work, in the armed forces, and in the home—were also crucial for victory. During the war, large numbers of patriotic American women responded to their nation's call for help by volunteering for military service. The WACs (Women's Army Corps) enlisted 140,000 women, while 100,000 served in the Navy's WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service) and 39,000 in the Marine Corps and Coast Guard (SPARS). Another 75,000 women served in the Army and Navy's Nursing Corps, where they saw duty during the invasions of North Africa, Italy, and France. Some 2,000 women also served as pilots in the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS), established at the New Castle Army Air Base in Wilmington, Delaware, or the Women Air Service Pilots (WASPs), based in Texas. These experienced pilots ferried planes from their manufacturers all over the country, taught basic flying, towed targets for aerial gunnery practice, and served as test pilots. The flying duty was often hazardous. Thirty-eight women lost their lives, although this rate was lower than that for male civilian pilots.[36]

More than 6 million women entered the labor force during the war. During the Great Depression, when millions of men were unemployed, public opinion had been hostile to the hiring of women, but the war brought about a rapid increase in employment. Just when men were going off to war, industry had to recruit millions of new workers to supply the rapidly expanding need for military equipment. Filling these new jobs were African Americans, southern whites, Mexican Americans, and, above all, women.[37]

No matter how impressive women's contributions were to the war effort, statistics tell only part of the story. Changes in attitudes were also important. Until early in the war, employers insisted that women were not suited for industrial jobs. As labor shortages began to threaten the war effort, however, employers did an about-face. "Almost overnight," said Mary Anderson, head of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, "women were reclassified by industrialists from a marginal to a basic labor supply for munitions making." Women became riveters, welders, crane operators, tool makers, shell loaders, lumberjacks ("lumberjills"), cowgirls, and police officers.[38]

During the war years, the number of working women increased by 57 percent. Two million women took clerical jobs; another 2.5 million worked in manufacturing. The significance of these figures lay not just in the numbers themselves but also in the kinds of women who were entering the work force. The economist Claudia Goldin has observed that labor-force participation rates increased most for women over age thirty-five, and that "married, rather than single women, were the primary means of bolstering the nation's labor force." Before the war the average female wage earner had been young, single, and largely self-supporting; by 1945 more working women were married than single, and more were over age thirty-five than under.[39]

(August 1944): 12, 59-60.

[36] Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), 31-51.

[37] Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 23-74.

[38] William H. Chafe, *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 121-34.

[39] Claudia Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 152-54.

New employment opportunities also increased women's occupational mobility. Especially noteworthy were the gains made by African American women; over 400,000 quit work as domestic servants to enjoy the better working conditions, higher pay, and union benefits of industrial employment. To take advantage of the new defense jobs, both black and white women willingly uprooted themselves. Over 7 million women moved to war-production areas, such as Willow Run and southern California.[40]

As public opinion shifted to support women's war work, posters and billboards appeared urging women to "Do the Job HE Left Behind." Newspapers, magazines, radio, and movies proclaimed "Rosie the Riveter" a war hero. But few people asserted that women's war work should bring about a permanent shift in gender roles: it was merely a response to a national emergency. Once the victory was won, women should go back to nurturing their husbands and children, leaving their jobs to returning G.I.s. Many women were eager to do just that, but wartime surveys conducted by the Women's Bureau showed that three out of four women workers wanted to remain in their jobs. "War jobs have uncovered unsuspected abilities in American women," explained one woman. "Why lose all these abilities because of a belief that 'a woman's place is in the home'? For some it is," she added, "for others not." Also, those women who remained on the job did so despite the disparity in pay scale between men and women. Although women's wages rose as they acquired better jobs, they still received lower pay than men. In 1945, women in manufacturing earned only 65 percent of what men were paid.[41]

Child Care

Early in the war, child-care centers were in short supply in war-boom areas. And even as mothers were being encouraged to work in the national defense, there was still opposition to their doing so. One form this campaign took was a series of exaggerated articles in mass-circulation magazines about the suffering of "eight-hour orphans" or "latchkey children," left alone or deposited in all-night movie theaters while their mothers worked eight-hour shifts in war plants.[42]

Working parents were under great pressure, and some children did suffer, particularly in war-boom towns where all of life's necessities were in short supply. Pascagoula, Mississippi, was one such town. In the early 1930s, Pascagoula had a population of about 4,000. In 1938, the town became the home of the Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation, which produced 80 ships during the war. By 1943 the population had grown to 30,000. In late 1941, Nan Dawkins took a job as a social worker in the Pascagoula public schools. She also volunteered to do research for the mayor's recreational survey committee on the town's child-care needs. In December 1943, when a U.S. Senate committee took its probe of "Wartime Health and Education" to Pascagoula,

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[40] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 105, 129, 184-85, 232-40, 251-56; Karen Tucker Anderson, "Last Hired, First Fired: Black Women Workers during World War II," *Journal of American History* 69 (June 1982): 82-97; Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 36-42; U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 205; Kathryn Blood, *Negro Women War Workers* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1945), 17-19; Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 122-29; Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 279.
[41] Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 135-53; 154-58.
[42] Agnes Meyer, *Journey through Chaos* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1944), 60; Agnes Meyer, "War Orphans, U.S.A.," *Reader's Digest* 43 (August 1943): 98-102.

Dawkins presented her findings and identified a major problem: "The present nursery school was equipped to care for 30 children. The enrollment is now 89."[43]

From Dawkins's testimony, it is clear that there were two categories of neglected children based on age. First, there were the preschoolers up to five and six years old. Second, there were the girls and boys between the ages of about six and thirteen or fourteen, many of whom were not only themselves latchkey children, but also caretakers for their younger siblings—some less than a year old—for shifts of up to nine and ten hours. These older children frequently missed school for reasons of fatigue and illness. Moreover, some of these young caretakers were truant because their parents ordered them to stay home from school. In one family, two boys just six and eight years old "were kept out of school about six weeks to take care of two younger brothers, ages 3 and 15 months." In another, a nine-year-old boy missed school "for several weeks to look after the three pre-school children while the mother worked."[44]

These were exceptions, however, and in fact few children of working women were neglected or abused during the war. Some families preferred to make their own child-care arrangements, which often involved leaving children for the day with grandparents or other relatives. Other families benefited from Lanham Act money, which paid for child-care centers, hospitals, sewer systems, and additional police officers and firefighters. In late 1943, fewer than 60,000 children were enrolled in Lanham Act child-care centers; six months later, the number had more than doubled to 130,000. Another government program, Extended School Services, offered care for children before and after school. Although working mothers and their children received less help than they needed, the Second World War was a brief time of progress in the provision of child care.[45]

The greatest changes in the proportion of the female population at work came in two age groups, fourteen to nineteen and thirty-five and above: the increase was least for women in the prime child-bearing years of twenty to thirty-four. During the war, as the historian D'Ann Campbell has noted, the shift in labor force participation was "least for mothers of children under six . . . and greatest for older wives without children to care for." Indeed, the labor force participation rate for mothers of children under six years of age increased only from 9 to 12 percent during the war. (In 1950, the figure still stood at 12 percent. By contrast, 50 years later in 2000, over 50 percent of married women with children under one year of age worked outside the home.) Finally, as Campbell has written, "while the war certainly caused an increase in the average number of women employed, it did not mark a drastic break with traditional working patterns or sex roles." In general, America's domestic ideology reigned largely unchallenged at this time, and continued to do so throughout the late 1940s and 1950s.[46]

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[43] U.S. Senate, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, *Wartime Health and Education* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943-44), 753-54.
[44] Ibid., 621, 736-42, 754-56, 926-32.
[45] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 69-90.
[46] D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 72-84, 224; U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 192-98, *Employment of Women in Army Supply Depots in 1943* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1945), 22-23; *New York Times*, March 16, 1986; Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 177, 240-54; Lynn Y. Weiner, *From Working Girl to Working Mother: The Female Labor Force in the United States, 1820-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 95, 97, 110-12; Suzanne M. Bianchi and Daphne Spain, *American Women in Transition* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation [*The Population of the United States in the 1980s: A Census Monograph Series*], 1986), 148, 166; Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 189-91.

On the other hand, work outside the home was often an economic necessity for America's home front mothers. Women headed more than 17 percent of all families in the United States—or almost one in five; they had to work to support themselves and their children. Other mothers worked to supplement low family incomes, such as servicemen's wives who could not feed their families on the government allotment checks they received ($50 monthly for the wife and $20 for each child). Still others took jobs to boost their families' standard of living, which had taken a beating during the Great Depression. Finally, patriotism motivated many American women, just as it did many American men. "The motives for a mother's working are usually complex," wrote Hazel A. Fredericksen of the Children's Bureau. Fredericksen then asked a pertinent question—one that was not often heard: "Who shall say at a time when labor is so necessary to a nation's winning the war that a mother's right to work should be questioned?"[47]

Not all working parents approved of war-time child-care centers. A 1943 Gallup poll asked a cross section of women whether they would take a war job if their children were provided free care. Only 29 percent said they would, while nearly twice as many (56 percent) said no. Mothers in Detroit explained why they did not send their children to the local day-care center. "I wouldn't have a stranger," said one, "No one could be better than my mother." Health concerns were important to others, who worried, as one said, that "the baby might catch a disease in a nursery."[48]

But in 1944 the demand for places in the government's child-care centers increased, especially on the West Coast where many of the women coming into the factories had young children. Moreover, these women were often on their own, and, having fewer traditional family resources to fall back on, needed organized child care. "This gives the child-care program added momentum," explained the director of the Los Angeles child-care coordinating council. "Moreover, mothers are becoming interested who for a long time were skeptical. They are finding that leaving their children with the neighbors was not a satisfactory solution."[49]

Throughout 1944, enrollment in federal child-care centers grew. For one thing, the proponents of group child care organized a potent lobbying drive to keep the funding flowing. The women's auxiliaries of some industrial unions joined community leaders and Federal Works Agency (FWA) officials in the effort. Also influential were the six women members of the House of Representatives, led by Mary T. Norton, Democrat of New Jersey. In late February 1944, Norton presented to the house "a joint appeal" for immediate funds to expand the wartime child-care program under the FWA. What was at stake, the statement said, was not only "the health and safety of our children," but also "the achievement of our war-production goals." "Therefore, we women members of Congress assume the responsibility of speaking for the millions of working mothers . . . and of impressing upon you the need for action." In the floor debate, the women members took their views to the male representatives. "I cannot believe that

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[47] U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 225, *Handbook of Facts on Women Workers* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1948), 12-13; Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 49-83; Hazel A. Fredericksen, "The Program for Day Care of Children of Employed Mothers," *Social Service Review* 17 (June 1943): 162; Ruth A. Kasman, "Employed Mothers of Children in the A.D.C. Program Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare," *Social Service Review* 19 (March 1945): 96-110.

[48] *New York Times*, November 27, 1942; Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1980), 420; Clive, *State of War*, 197; National Manpower Council, *Womanpower* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), 327.

[49] *New York Times*, December 1, 1944; R. J. Thomas to All Local Unions, November 18, 1943, in UAW War Policy Division—Women's Bureau, Box 1, United Auto Workers Papers.

there is a man on the floor of this House, and I know there is not a woman," began Norton, "who does not consider that this is an absolutely necessary program." Frances P. Bolton, Republican of Ohio, added that the country had asked "our women to go into the production lines in addition to doing their first and foremost role of homemaking. . . . Heaven knows I am against Federal encroachment on States' rights or local rights. I do not like it. I do not approve it. But it is the Federal Government that is asking women to go into production. Are we going to be penny-wise and pound foolish? Are we going to fail to keep first things first?" Congress responded to these arguments, along with thousands of letters from union members, with increased funding for child care.[50]

Child-care enrollments also began to rise because of a decision which the FWA made in April to make funds available for the care of children under two years of age. The FWA explained that while it "frowned upon" the employment of women with children under two, "we know that, realistically, many women with young children have been forced to take war jobs." By mid-May, a total of 87,406 girls and boys were enrolled in 2,512 war nurseries and child-care centers. Enrollments reached their peak in July 1944. In that month, 3,102 centers served 129,357 children, with an average daily attendance of 109,202. Enrollments had doubled in just five months. Although the FWA centers never served the predicted clientele of 160,000 children, they did help to meet many families' wartime needs. Lanham Act child-care centers ultimately received federal funds totaling $52 million, with matching sums from states and local communities. By the war's end, a large number of children—estimated at between 550,000 and 600,000 for the Lanham Act programs—had received some care.[51] Finally, the federal government had made an important declaration, even if belatedly: in this national emergency, the public would provide subsidized care for the children of wage-earning mothers.[52]

A number of communities established child-care programs of their own. Some began at the neighborhood level, as in Malden, Massachusetts, where, in early 1942, twenty mothers scoured their neighborhood for tiny furniture and playthings for the children in their "cooperative nursery school." Seven mothers in a New York town—all with children between two and six years of age—surveyed their neighborhood's needs, conducted fund-raisers, then rented four rooms and filled them with donated furniture, books, and play equipment. Their final triumphant action was to nail up a large sign, patriotically painted red, white, and blue, which bore the legend "Inwood Community Day Nursery." Its opening-day enrollment was sixteen, but by the end of the week, the number had risen to thirty-five. In other cities, girls ranging in age from eight to thirteen took instruction in child care and homemaking. In New York City, girls from large families used this training to take care of their younger brothers and sisters. On St. Patrick's Day, fourteen of these girls prepared a dinner for their working mothers and served it to them at the Y.W.C.A., complete with shamrock-green menus and flowers on the tables. And in Gary, Indiana, boys as

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[50] Howard Dratch, "The Politics of Child Care in the 1940's," *Science and Society* 38 (summer 1974): 184-86; *Congressional Record*, 90 (February 25, March 9, 1944), A983, 2449-57; *New York Times*, March 8, 10, 29, May 1, 1944.

[51] U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 246, Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, *Employed Mothers and Child Care* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1953), 19; Bernard Greenblatt, *Responsibility for Child Care* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977), 59-61; Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 146; *New York Times*, May 1, 18, 1944; Kathryn Close, "After Lanham Funds—What?" *Survey Midmonthly* 81 (May 1945): 131.

[52] Greenblatt, *Responsibility for Child Care*, 63; Virginia Kerr, "One Step Forward—Two Steps Back: Child Care's Long American History," in Pamela Roby, editor, *Child Care—Who Cares? Foreign and Domestic Infant and Early Childhood Development Policies* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 162-65; Judith D. Auerbach, *In the Business of Child Care: Employer Initiatives and Working Women* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 40-44.

well as girls took classes in planning, preparing, and serving meals, laundering and mending clothes, and helping younger children dress and undress.[53]

By mid-1944, happy stories of child-care successes were supplanting the sad tales of latchkey children published in numerous magazines just the year before. Both local efforts and federally funded programs were beginning to prosper. So too were a handful of initiatives by private industry. In the fall of 1942, the Douglas Aircraft plant in Santa Monica announced plans to open a nursery within four miles of the plant, but "out of range as a target for the enemy." In efforts to recruit women workers to its airplane factory in Buffalo, the Curtiss-Wright Corporation announced not only that it was offering prizes of $50 war bonds for recruitment of new workers, but also that it would double the size of the nursery school in operation on the plant's grounds. "Each morning," noted a reporter in Buffalo, "company guards pluck children from mothers' sides as they pass [through] the plant gates. Eight and a half hours daily the moppets play, snooze, ingest assorted vitamins, [and] watch test planes zoom by."[54]

Probably the most innovative child-care program was the product of an industrialist's fertile mind. Edgar F. Kaiser, son of Henry J. Kaiser, was general manager of the two massive Kaiser shipyards in the Portland, Oregon area. Among the large labor force in the shipyards were 25,000 women. To house workers' families, the government erected its largest wartime civilian housing project, Vanport City. The town was situated on lowlands just outside the Portland city limits. Recognizing that child care would be an immediate problem, Kaiser consulted child development experts, as well as architects, for advice on constructing two large centers. Lois Meek Stolz, formerly the head of the Institute of Child Development at Columbia University, became the centers' director.[55]

While stabilizing women's employment in the shipyards, the centers promised to be unique innovations in their own right. For one thing, the buildings were located "not out in the community but right at the entrance to the shipyards, convenient to mothers on their way to and from work." Second, the centers were large, each accommodating 1,125 children between the ages of eighteen months and six years, during a 24-hour, three-shift working day. And, third, they were run not by the federal government, nor by the local schools or any other public body, but by Edgar Kaiser and his staff.[56]

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[53] *New York Times*, March 14, 1942; March 18, 1943; Ruth Schooler, "Child Care Program in a City of Steel Mills," *Journal of Home Economics* 36 (June 1944): 331; Ruth Carson, "Minding the Children," *Collier's* 3 (January 30, 1943): 46, 48; Ann Ross, "What Seven Mothers Did," *Parents' Magazine* 18 (May 1943): 32, 97; Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 137; Elspeth Bragdon, "A Day Care Project," in *The Impact of War on Children's Services* (New York: Child Welfare League of America, 1943), 10-12; Mary Elizabeth Evans, "Nursery School Lessons Learned in Wartime," *Journal of Home Economics* 38 (May 1946): 257-60.

[54] *New York Times*, August 24, 1942; "Marvelous for Terry?" *Time*, March 22, 1943, 40.

[55] Carol Slobodin, "When the U.S. Paid for Day Care," *Day Care and Early Education* (September-October 1975): 23; Karen Beck Skold, "The Job He Left Behind: American Women in the Shipyards during World War II," in Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett, editors, *Women, War, and Revolution* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980), 55-72; Amy Kesselman, *Fleeting Opportunities: Women Shipyard Workers in Portland and Vancouver During World War II and Reconversion* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 65-89.

[56] "The Kaiser Child Service Centers: An Interview with Lois Meek Stolz," in James L. Hymes, Jr., editor, *Early Childhood Education: Living History Interviews*, book 2 (Carmel: Hacienda Press, 1978), 27-32; Ruby Takanishi, "An American Child Development Pioneer, Lois Meek Stolz" (1977 oral history, on deposit in University Archives, Stanford University Libraries) 185-225, 241-58; Lois Meek Stolz, "War Invades the Children's World," *National Parent-Teacher* 36 (May 1942): 4-6; *Congressional Record* 89, A4729-30; James L. Hymes, Jr., "Child Care Problems of the Night Shift Worker," *Journal of Consulting Psychology* 8 (July-August 1944): 225-28; Opal Rae Weimar, "Vanport City Extends Its

Although Kaiser's staff managed the centers, the company did not pay for their operation. Edgar Kaiser wrote these costs—minus the nominal sums paid by the mothers—into the company's cost-plus contracts with the government, so that the public footed the bill. In addition, he convinced the U.S. Maritime Commission to bear the construction costs for the two centers. Each center's wheelspoke plan placed a large grassy play area—complete with four wading pools—at the hub of the building, accessible to each of the fifteen spacious and cheerfully decorated classrooms along the spokes of the wheel. Forming the wheel's outer rim were the large classroom windows, each of which faced onto the shipyards; benches located by the windows enabled the girls and boys to see where their mothers worked. Each center had an infirmary, with a trained nurse and a social worker on duty, as well as a large and fully staffed kitchen, which prepared not only the children's meals, but also take-home meals for the mothers coming off their shifts. Called "Home Service Food," this program had been suggested by Eleanor Roosevelt. The take-home meals were nutritionally balanced, neatly packaged, and contained full directions for reheating and for "supplementary salads and vegetables to make a full dinner." Available at 50 cents a portion, each meal was sufficient for a mother and a child. The meal for March 15, 1944, for instance, included fresh salmon loaf and avocado salad.[57]

Henry J. Kaiser also built day care centers at his shipyards in Richmond, California. Although smaller and less innovative than the Portland centers, their designs also followed the recommendations of leading child-care specialists.[58]

The Kaiser centers were an example of what American business, with governmental assistance, could accomplish to alleviate pressures on working mothers while providing real care for the children. As a student of the Kaiser program has written, "their existence serves to prove that quality, center-based child care services can be made available, given the necessary ingredients of priority, leadership, and professionalism."[59]

There was yet another child-care triumph during the Second World War, as governments at all levels, with help from the private sector, cooperated in implementing an unheralded but highly successful before-and-after school program called Extended School Services, or ESS. ESS was a simple concept. As Idella Purnell Stone, a mother in Berkeley, California, explained it in a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt in March 1942: "Get the school teachers to care for our children after school until we, the mamas, can call for them. It might even become necessary to give the children their suppers there. This would free us to get into war work NOW." Since the school buildings were already in place, the program had only to be implemented.[60]

In August 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt made available $400,000 to the U.S. Office of Education (part of the Federal Security Agency) and the Children's Bureau (part of the Labor

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School Service," *Recreation* 37 (December 1943): 510-12.

[57] "Designed for 24-Hour Child Care," *Architectural Record* 95 (March 1944): 84-88; "The Kaiser Child Service Centers: An Interview with Lois Meek Stolz," 32-33, 53; Dratch, "Politics of Child Care in the 1940's," 195-201; Auerbach, *In the Business of Child Care*, 44-47.

[58] Alicia Barber, "Maritime Child Development Center," (Washington, D.C.: Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001).

[59] Kaiser Company, Inc.—Portland Yard and the Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation, Portland, Oregon, "Child Service Center, 1943-1945: Final Report" (mimeographed, 1945), 1; "The Kaiser Child Service Centers: An Interview with Lois Meek Stolz," 48-56; Slobodin, "When the U.S. Paid for Day Care," 23; *New York Times*, November 12, 17, 1944.

[60] Idella Purnell Stone to Eleanor Roosevelt, March 9, 1942, in Records of the Children's Bureau, Record Group 102, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C..

Department) "for the promotion of and coordination of [Extended School Services] programs for the care of children of working mothers."[61] Many home front horror stories focused on the plight of young children under four or five years of age. But the much larger group needing care were those children between six and thirteen or fourteen. Charles P. Taft of the Federal Security Agency estimated that probably 80 percent of the girls and boys needing care were school age. For these children, the greatest need was for a place to go before and after school—a supervised environment in which to wait until their mothers ended work and could pick them up.[62]

In the fall of 1942, the Office of Education announced establishment of the ESS program for the school-age children of working mothers, and by early 1943 the agency had granted funds to seven states to promote the program. Federal financial assistance was minimal; funds were available only for organizational and administrative purposes, and not a penny was to be spent for personnel costs for the operation of nursery schools or child-care centers or for the maintenance of children in these programs. But the $400,000 grant funded 222 positions nationwide and stimulated the creation of 450 more. New Jersey used its initial funds to hire two staff members to work for the State Department of Public Instruction, one serving primarily as a field worker, the other as the state coordinator for the program. Other states followed this pattern. Funding was the key issue, and in New Jersey as elsewhere, it originated at the local level, with the public schools assuming primary responsibility for school-age children.[63]

Throughout the 1942-43 school year, cities and towns publicized the ESS program. Civil defense block leaders spread the word. Announcements went into pay envelopes or were carried home from school by the children themselves. Bell Aircraft in Georgia gave its working mothers a flyer entitled "YOUR CHILD'S LIFE WHILE YOU BUILD BOMBERS," which told them, "If your daughter or son is 6-14 years of age[,] she or he will enjoy before and after school care because it provides: Expert guidance, Active life with youth of own age, Experience in arts, crafts, drama, nature study, music, Supervised games and play." Moreover, the flyer said, the cost was reasonable and the location was convenient. Other publicity included signs on streetcars and buses, "announcement flashes" in movie theaters, and posters in employment offices, union halls, and in schools offering vocational training classes for women.[64]

Communities across the country boasted of their ESS programs. In Detroit, for example, students from Wayne University and the Merrill-Palmer School, a private school that was closely associated with educational reform and had also played a role in establishing day care centers in the state, transported children from neighboring schools to an ESS program at the Hutchins Intermediate School. With guidance from their professors, the students led boys and girls in games, dancing and singing, dramatics, handicrafts and hobbies, gardening, marketing for food, setting up for meals, and cleaning up afterwards. In Vallejo, California, the federal government

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[61] "Policy of the War Manpower Commission on Employment in Industry of Women with Young Children," *The Child* 7 (October 1942): 49-50; "Extended School Services for Children of Working Mothers," *Education for Victory* 1 (November 16, 1942): 13, 14, 22.

[62] U.S. House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on the First Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1943* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943), 733; "Employment in War Work of Women with Young Children," *Monthly Labor Review* 55 (December 1942): 1184-85.

[63] *Education for Victory* 1 (October 15, November 16, 1942; January 15, 1943): 1-2; 13-14, 22; 1, 14; U.S. House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2nd Sess., Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, *Department of Labor-Federal Security Agency Appropriation Bill for 1945* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1944), 301-2; I. L. Kandel, *The Impact of the War upon American Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood reprint, 1974), 48-51.

[64] *Education for Victory* 2 (August 16, December 15, 1943): 22; 3-4.

built many new planned communities for workers in the nearby San Francisco shipyards. In the ESS programs in Vallejo, enrollment was 1,000: 350 in nurseries located in the public schools and 650 school-age children. The first children arrived at 6 a.m. "Many of the early arrivals," Bess Goodykoontz, assistant commissioner of the U.S. Office of Education, explained, "have their breakfasts at school." About 9 o'clock, following indoor play with blocks, clay, dolls, picture books, and paper and crayons, the preschool children went outdoors to play with wagons, tricycles, boxes, a teeter-totter, slide, and sandbox. After a mid-morning snack of orange juice and cod-liver oil, they came indoors for a nap. After playing outside again in the afternoon, "around 4:30 they come in for music, stories, and free play. If the mothers' working hours demand it, the children are given a simple supper before they depart for home around 6:30."[65]

The ESS program was officially discontinued on June 30, 1943. Seed money for ESS had come from President Roosevelt's emergency fund, but on that day funding expired. By that time, however, the programs in many communities were self-sustaining. Moreover, during the last two years of the war, many communities applied for and received Lanham Act funding for their ESS programs. Cleveland's program, which provided in-school care at lunchtime, after school on school days, all day on Saturday, and during vacations, received funds from a variety of sources. Financing came at first from parents' fees and contributions from civic foundations, but the program gained a more substantial footing when the Cleveland Board of Education assumed responsibility, with the aid of Lanham Act money.[66]

Because of the multiplicity of ESS programs and the variety of sources funding these programs, it is impossible to tabulate the total numbers of children served. In mid-1943, the U.S. Office of Education announced that ESS was caring for about 320,000 children, including 60,000 preschoolers and 260,000 of school age. A year and one-half later, after the program's official termination, the Women's Bureau stated that 2,828 ESS units were in operation, with an enrollment of 105,263 children. Since it was not known to what extent the states and local governmental units either assumed fiscal responsibility for ESS or initiated their own programs, these latter figures are surely short of the actual numbers involved. ESS represented a home front triumph of the first order.[67]

It was clear that child care had gained wide acceptance by the time victory approached in 1945. Not only were enrollments still rising, but numerous women were saying that they wanted to stay on the job after the emergency, thus presaging a postwar demand for child-care centers. In the spring of 1945, working women, elected and unelected government officials, and child development experts began to agitate for a national peacetime child-care policy. Petitions descended upon Congress from scores of organizations—among them, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the American Legion—in support of continuing the Lanham Act centers. Local governments, labor councils, and educational associations sent telegrams. Although originally scheduled to expire on October 31, 1945,

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[65] *Education for Victory* 2 (April 3, May 20, 1944): 14; 5-6; 3 (February 3, March 3, 1945): 9, 12-13; Dorothy W. Baruch, "Extending Extended School Services to Parents," *Journal of Consulting Psychology* 8 (July-August 1944): 241-52.

[66] Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves, *The Contemporary American Family* (Chicago: Lippincott, 1947), 669-70.

[67] *New York Times*, June 30, 1943; Women's Bureau, *Employed Mothers and Child Care*, 13-14, 17, 19.

Lanham Act child-care funding received a reprieve from Congress—an additional $7 million to keep the centers alive until March 1, 1946.[68]

"The case for child care centers," suggested a school administrator in Burbank, California, would become fully persuasive only when parents and public officials put aside their political, economic, racial, and religious opinions and conceded that such centers would "assist us to win the war at home by giving our children the personal security, maximum health, social training, and the stability of character they will need." By the end of the war, many people believed that the centers had made that case.[69] The tragedy of the Second World War experience is how little carry-over value it has had. Despite the wartime successes, the United States has retreated from articulating a national child-care policy ever since.

America's men and women fought the Second World War, but this was a children's war too. Wartime, for example, saw the arrival of many babies. Indeed, during the war, there were both marriage and baby booms. Some couples scrambled to get married before the man was sent overseas; others doubtless married and had children to qualify for military deferments. As might be expected, the birth rate also climbed during the war. Many births were "goodbye babies," conceived as a guarantee that the family would be perpetuated if the father died in battle overseas.[70]

Children and Youth

American girls' and boys' home front experiences helped shape their generation. The war's effects upon children varied widely depending upon the child's age. Certain war events had major impacts on some children and only secondary impacts on others. When fathers left home to go to war, their daughters and sons felt the effects regardless of age; but the most telling developmental impact was on the "war babies," those infants and toddlers born during the war who were under the age of four when the war ended. Also deeply affected were the little boys and girls who were "camp followers," or who suffered as "extra-familial children" when fathers returned. For these reasons, two experts noted in 1946, "The youngest children, up to about six years old, knew the least about the war, yet they were the group most deeply affected by it."[71]

For school-age boys and girls the situation was different. These "Depression children" born in the 1930s had known their fathers prior to the war, and they suffered fewer long-term consequences from father absence than did their "war-born" younger siblings. But in practically every other respect, it was the children between the ages of five or six and the onset of puberty who felt directly the tumult as well as the excitement of home front life. "Rosie the Riveter's" children usually were not preschoolers, but school-age children who assumed the extra responsibilities that went along with being latchkey girls and boys. School-age children became

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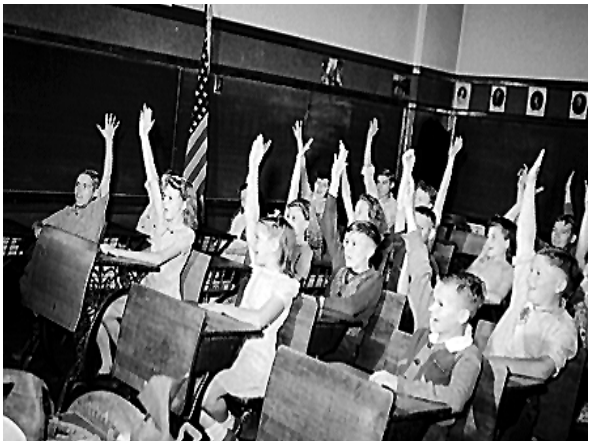
[68] *New York Times*, March 15, May 22, August 21, 28, September 20, October 18, 1945; Dorothy W. Baruch, "When the Need for War-Time Services for Children Is Past—What of the Future?" *Journal of Consulting Psychology* 9 (January-February 1945): 45-57; *Congressional Record*, vol. 91, 8657, 9337, A700, A943, A3868-69, A3928-29, A3998-4002, A4010, A4015, A4025-26, A4076-77, A4155-57, A4194-95, A4290-91; Close, "After Lanham Funds—What?" 131-35; Monica B. Owen, "Save Our Child Care Centers," *Parents' Magazine* 21 (March 1946): 20; "Concerning Children," *Survey Midmonthly* 82 (November 1946): 300-1; "Child-Care Programs," *School Life* 29 (February 1947): 26; Dratch, "Politics of Child Care in the 1940s," 190-95; Greenblatt, *Responsibility for Child Care*, 64-78, 229.
[69] Elta S. Pfister, "The Case for Child Care Centers," *Journal of Consulting Psychology* 8 (July-August 1944): 199-205.
[70] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 219-20, 256-57.
[71] Wolf and Black, "What Happened to the Younger People," 65.

politically aware during the war and participated in the patriotic enthusiasms that had become part of the school day. Because of air raid drills in school, fear too was more a part of their everyday lives than it was for the younger children. It was school-age children who suffered most from war-inspired nightmares. Finally, these were the boys and girls who played war games and followed the adventures of their radio and film heroes.[72]

America's children and youth made important contributions to the war effort. They saved their nickels and dimes to buy War Bonds, and they pulled wagons from house-to-house collecting old newspapers, rubber tires, and tin cans. "I became fiercely patriotic," recalled a Nebraska farm girl, "and participated in every war effort that I could." Thousands of young people went to work. In 1940, for example, 900,000 Americans between the ages of fourteen and eighteen were employed. By the spring of 1944 their number had climbed to 3 million—one-third of their age group. Teenagers were dropping out of high school in record numbers, and some observers believed that the most pressing social problem afflicting young people was not juvenile delinquency but failure to finish school. High-school enrollments hit new lows during the war, which prompted a back-to-school drive in 1944.[73]



Office of War Information photographs taken inside a white school and a black school illustrate children volunteering to collect scrap for the war effort. Both photographs bear the identical caption: ". . . Everyone in this Roanoke, Virginia class wants to be one of the thirty-million children banding together throughout the United States to form America's junior army . . ." October 1942. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USE6-D-006438 and LC-USE6-D-006440].

Children survived the war with vulnerabilities and resiliency, anxieties and coping mechanisms, and fears and hopes. For these children, the war had lifespan consequences. As Glen H. Elder, Jr., the pioneering sociologist of lifespan studies, has written: "The imprint of history is one of the most neglected facts in [human] development." Lives "are shaped," he writes, not only "by the settings in which they are lived," but also "by the timing of encounters with historical forces, whether depression or prosperity, peace or war."[74]

[72] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 112-33.
[73] Ibid., 18-26.
[74] Elder, "Social History and Life Experience," in Dorothy Eichorn et al., eds., *Present and Past in Middle Life* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 3.

Supporting the War

For America's children as well as for its adults, World War II was a war for democracy, with almost universal participation, including the women and children who served on the home front. When Studs Terkel gave his oral history the title "The Good War," he did so ironically, putting the title in quotation marks as recognition that no war can be a "good war." But if the Second World War was not "The Good War," it was clearly a "people's war" that united the efforts of Americans of all backgrounds in a common quest for victory.[75]

The preservation of the family-centered "American Way of Life" was also a national goal of the war. Private advertisers as well as government agencies, such as the Children's and Women's Bureaus, called upon people to defend the "American Way of Life." An advertisement (for vacuum cleaners) in the *Saturday Evening Post* sounded a familiar theme, urging women war workers to fight "for freedom and all that means to women everywhere. You're fighting for a little house of your own, and a husband to meet every night at the door. You're fighting for the right to bring up your children without the shadow of fear."[76]

In the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, American families rushed to the defense not only of their country, but also of what President Roosevelt called the "four essential human freedoms"—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. The paintings that artist Norman Rockwell created to embody these principles were among the most popular posters of the war—over 4 million copies were printed. The paintings themselves were visited by more than a million visitors on a nationwide bond drive tour. Men on the battlefields, as well as women in war-production work, believed they were fighting and working for both democracy and the American family.

Americans supported the war effort in countless ways, buying War Bonds, collecting scrap iron, rubber, and newspapers for recycling, and planting "victory gardens." No wartime agency better exemplified American families' willingness to sacrifice than the Office of Price Administration. Consumers became skilled at handling ration stamps, each worth ten points—red for meats and cheese, blue for canned goods. Most Americans abided by the rules, but some hoarded sugar and coffee or bought beef on the "red market"—under the counter or from the trunk of a car.[77]

Women were central to OPA's success. They enlisted in the "food fight for freedom" by signing "The Home Front Pledge" and promising to pay "no more than Ceiling Prices." The OPA was active in every community through its 5,525 local War Price and Rationing boards, operated largely by women volunteers, which allocated coupons for each family and checked stores for violations of price controls. Some of the volunteers were veterans of labor unions and consumer groups, while others were ordinary shoppers determined to sacrifice for the war effort. But the OPA's successes in enforcing price ceilings provoked opposition from businesses, large and small, which even in wartime wanted to charge whatever the market would bear.[78]

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[75] Terkel, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).
[76] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 151-52.
[77] See Richard R. Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On? The American Homefront, 1941-1945* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976), 234-70.
[78] See Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

Educational Policy

What sustained and united many Americans was the war's democratic and antiracist ideology. Wartime experts agreed that school age was the time to learn good values and good habits. Educators viewed the Second World War as an important challenge to, and opportunity for, the nation's schools. Soon after the Pearl Harbor attack, a group of women educators set the stage for numerous high-minded pronouncements about the responsibilities of the schools in a nation at war. Writing in *Education for Victory*, this group urged the schools "to guarantee for all children adequate *protection*, intelligent *participation*, and balanced *perspective*." Protection was obvious, including frequent air raid drills and the provision of gas masks and identification tags. But the two other categories were intensely idealistic—and propagandistic—reflecting unquestioned assumptions about what the United States ought to be, and, indeed, already was in the minds of millions of Americans. "Intelligent participation by children includes," the statement read, "understanding patriotism, citizenship, democracy. . . ." And "balanced perspective for children" required:

1. Sensing what America is fighting for by developing an understanding of democratic ideals through daily practice in living them.
2. Seeing that America's fight for democratic principles is but one part of mankind's long struggle for freedom.
3. Knowing the real values that war cannot destroy.
4. Understanding the necessity for personal sacrifices.
5. Understanding and appreciating others by stressing likenesses as opposed to superficial differences among citizens of a democracy.[79]

All subsequent statements, whether issued by governmental bodies or educational associations or published in magazine articles, lauded these wartime aims for the schools.[80]

One of the tasks assigned to the schools was to eradicate hate and other antidemocratic tendencies. "Even a slight trend toward racial prejudice and national hatreds among young children should cause us concern," wrote the chief of elementary education for New York State's Education Department in 1943. "The very foundation of American society rests on the premise that individuals of different backgrounds can work together for the common good. . . . It is imperative that our young children shall not be encompassed by the weight of our mistakes and prejudices." "Wars Are Made in Classrooms," was the title of a 1944 article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, which stated that while school can be "an effective medium for the development of good attitudes and habits of life, if it remains an instrument of competitive nationalism, more wars will be made in classrooms." It was time for a change, time to drop the "autocratic classroom" that sustained "the autocratic nation"—and time for school to become "a fundamental instrument for international appreciation, collaboration, and good will. Why not

[79] "Educational Policy Concerning Young Children and the War," *Education for Victory* 1 (April 15, 1942): 8-9. For federal discussions in this area, see Timothy De Witt Connelly, "Education for Victory: Federal Efforts to Promote War-Related Instructional Activities by Public School Systems, 1940-1945" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1982), 74-117.

[80] *Journal of the National Educational Association* 32 (September 1943): 173-74; Carter V. Good, "Educational Issues of 1942 and the Task Ahead," *School and Society* 57 (March 27, 1943): 344; Dorothy W. Baruch, *You, Your Children, and War* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1942), 219-22; Anna W. M. Wolf, "The Home Front in Wartime," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 16 (December 1942): 202-18; Angelo Patri, *Your Children in Wartime* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1943), 89-97.

now," the article asked, "— now before we get involved in the passions, prejudices and power-drives which must lead to another holocaust?"[81]

Many people expressed hope that, since the war was a crusade against Nazi racism, victory would redound to the benefit of multicultural harmony. Some in the media, including radio entertainers, called for tolerance. In early 1945, for example, Kate Smith spoke on the show *We, the People*: "Race hatreds—social prejudices—religious bigotry—they are all the diseases that eat away the fibres of peace. Unless they are exterminated it's inevitable that we will have another war. . . . Of what use will it be," she asked, "if the lights go on again all over the world—if they don't go on . . . in our hearts?"[82]

But some educators and parents still feared that children would learn not tolerance, but hatred. "Educators Decry Teaching of Hate," read a *New York Times* headline in January 1943. While it was appropriate for the military to motivate its combat soldiers "by hatred and revenge," stated the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, the nation's schools should refrain from exposing the home front boys and girls to "malignant indictments of entire nations and races." During the war, a host of educational, religious, entertainment, business, labor, and political leaders, not to mention numerous mothers and fathers, denounced hatred on the home front and worried about its persistence in the postwar era. "In wartime," observed *The School Review* in 1944, "the aggressive feelings of people tend to be directed outward toward an external enemy. In the post-war period, when it will no longer be fashionable to hate Japanese and Germans, there is danger that Americans will fall to hating one another." Indeed, the magazine added, this was already evident in the race riots that exploded in 1943 and in attacks on Jews in Boston.[83]

Popular Culture

Americans worked very hard during the war, they worried a lot about loved ones and friends, and they sought escape in popular culture, particularly in films and radio. In terms of visual images, the closest the American family came to the war was, first, in the photographs in *Life* magazine and, second, in the newsreels, which one reporter called "a sort of *Life* magazine made animate." The newsreels were "our only view of the war," recalled a home front girl. Not only did they bring "The Eyes and Ears of the World" to the audience, but through them "the war became very real." In black and white, people saw scenes from air, land, and sea battles. During the war, about three-fourths of the newsreels showed military or naval hostilities or war-related activities; much of the combat footage was shot by professionals trained by *The March of Time*, *Fox Movietone*, and Hearst's *News of the Day*. Early in the war, there was strict government censorship of both newsreels and combat photographs in *Life*; it was a year before the government released footage of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Later, fearing that civilian morale

[81] "The Elementary School and the War," *Elementary School Journal* 43 (June 1943): 568; Agnes Benedict, "Towards Democracy," *Parents' Magazine* 19 (May 1944): 30-31, 128-29; James Marshall, "Wars Are Made in Classrooms," *Saturday Review of Literature* 27 (November 11, 1944): 24; *New York Times*, January 17, 1943.
[82] Shelby M. Harrison, "Some Wartime Social Gains," *Journal of the National Education Association* 32 (May 1943): 131; J. Fred MacDonald, *Don't Touch That Dial! Radio Programming in American Life from 1920 to 1960* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979), 346-56; Raymond William Stedman, *The Serials: Suspense and Drama by Installment* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 329-39.
[83] *New York Times*, January 17, 1943; "Education for inter-group co-operation," *The School Review* 52 (February 1944): 67.

was flagging, the government allowed the release of films and photographs of carnage, hoping that would shock people into redoubling their commitment to the war effort.[84]

Certainly the powerful visual images unleashed in the movie houses deeply moved America's children. N. Scott Momaday, the Native American writer, recorded the war fantasies that filled his head as a child:

> I'm in a Bell P-39 okay no a Flying Tiger okay sons of the rising sun this is for my kid brother ha gotcha oh oh there's a Zero on my tail eeeeeeoooooooooow lost him in the clouds just dropped down and let him go over me and climbed up oh he can't believe it he's in my sights crosshairs there Tojo that's for the Sullivans well Chuck you can paint four more Zeros on old Sally here no I'm okay honorable colonel we must stop Momaday he comes from nowhere from the sun I tell you he's not human they say he's an Indian that he wears an eagle feather has the eyes the heart of an eagle he must be stopped."[85]

Most home front families went to the movie houses to be entertained. For the price of a ticket, Americans saw two full-length features, a serial, previews, and a cartoon or two, in addition to the newsreels. In 1943 Hollywood, perceiving that the public was tiring of war movies, began concentrating on "escapist" films, particularly westerns, musicals, and comedies.[86] At some theaters families viewed classic documentaries funded by the government, notably John Ford's *The Battle of Midway* (1942), William Wyler's *Memphis Belle* (1944), and John Huston's *Report from the Aleutians* (1943) and *The Battle of San Pietro* (1944). They also saw government-sponsored public service films and cartoons. The best-known of the cartoons was Walt Disney's *Der Fuhrer's Face*, starring Donald Duck, which gave the nation a hit song based on the unlikely topic of flatulence: "We *heil* [Bronx cheer], *heil* [Bronx cheer], right in der Fuhrer's face." Not to be left out, Minnie Mouse did her part for the war in *Out of the Frying Pan and into the Firing Line*, which exemplified Disney's sex-typing and was consonant with the sex-typing evident in all forms of popular culture. Thus, Minnie's task was not to confront Hitler, but to show "why it was important for housewives to save fat."[87]

With fat pay checks, Americans could go to the movies several times a week. In response, Hollywood studios released 1,500 films during the war; one-fourth were combat pictures. Weekly attendance in 1942 was an estimated 100 million people—at a time when the national population stood at 135 million; the previous high had been 90 million people per week set in

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[84] Raymond Fielding, *The American Newsreel, 1911-1967* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 288-95; Kansas City *Star*, April 21, 1986; Roger Manvell, *Films and the Second World War* (South Brunswick, NJ: A. S. Barnes, 1974), 122-23, 183-85.

[85] N. Scott Momaday, *The Names: A Memoir* (New York; Harper & Row, 1976), 89, 99; Ken D. Jones and Arthur F. McClure, *Hollywood at War: The American Motion Picture and World War II* (New York: Castle, 1973), 198-99.

[86] See Allen L. Woll, *The Hollywood Musical Goes to War* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983); John H. Lenihan, *Showdown: Confronting Modern America in the Western Film* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980); *New York Times*, May 19, 1943.

[87] David Culbert, "'Why We Fight': Social Engineering for a Democratic Society at War," 173-91; Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 139-64; Manvell, *Films and the Second World War*, 167-83; "War Films Available to School and Adult Audiences," *The School Review* 51 (April 1943): 205; Harold Putnam, "The War Against War Movies," *The Educational Screen* 22 (May 1943): 162-63, 175; Thornton Delehanty, "The Disney Studio at War," *Theater Arts* 27 (January 1943): 31-33; Richard Schickel, *The Disney Version: The Life, Times, Art, and Commerce of Walt Disney* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), 270-71; Leonard Maltin, *The Disney Films* (New York: Bonanza, 1973), 16, 60-64; Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic: A History of American Animated Cartoons* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), 70-71.

1930. The films ran from Thursday through Saturday and changed on Sunday, with the new films continuing through Wednesday night. As people of all ages responded to these offerings, box office receipts soared, doubling from $735 million in 1940 to $1.45 billion in 1945.[88] In fact, Americans' expenditures for fun and games, as well as rest and relaxation, increased rapidly during the war. Expenditures soared for pari-mutuel betting (235 percent) and for buying books (over 200 percent).[89]

Despite nearly unanimous support for the war effort, government leaders worried that public willingness to sacrifice might lag in a long war. In 1942 President Roosevelt established the Office of War Information (OWI), which took charge of domestic propaganda and worked with Hollywood filmmakers and New York copywriters to sell the war at home. The army hired movie director Frank Capra to produce a series of propaganda films called *Why We Fight* at the Signal Corps' Pictorial Center in Astoria, New York, a former Paramount studio taken over by the Army in January 1942. *Why We Fight* portrayed the Allies as heroic partners united in a common effort against evil.[90]

For all Americans the war dominated popular culture. This was certainly true for the home front children, and this fact had some parents worried. "Comics—Radio—Movies," asked an article in *Better Homes & Gardens*, "What are they doing to our children? And what should parents do about them?" Although this article tried to be inclusive, it failed to discuss another of the home front children's favorite entertainments: the movie serials. Children thrilled to the serials, featuring such freedom fighters as Captain Marvel, The Spider, Batman, Spy Smasher, and Special Agent X-9. Most of these heroes were variations on the Superman theme. In *Captain Marvel*, the boy hero Billy Batson became "the World's Mightiest Mortal" simply by shouting the magic word "Shazam;" the first fifteen adventures of this serial were released in 1941. *Spy Smasher*, who "in reality" was Jack Armstrong's twin brother Alan, started in 1942. *The Black Commando* also debuted that year; he trapped the leader of the alien spies in America by offering to provide the secret formula for synthetic rubber. The next year, with the release of another new fifteen-chapter serial, *Batman* began to pursue "Dr. Daka," the "Japanese superspy" who was conspiring to seize control of the United States. "You're as yellow as your skin!" Batman railed at Dr. Daka. Also in 1943, *The Masked Marvel* took to the screen in pursuit of "Sakima," a Japanese spy trying to sabotage America's defense industries. And in 1944, *Captain America* donned his red-white-and-blue tights to do battle with the Nazis.[91]

The messages were simplistic. In reply to questions about what it was that the United States was fighting for, the answer in several movies was "Pumpkin pie!" Or as an aviator in *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1944) put it, "When it's all over . . . just think . . . being able to settle down . . . and never be in doubt about anything." Just as the films indulged in sex-typing, so too they spun myths about American society. A description of a small town in Iowa, written shortly after the war, not in a movie, but in a magazine, reflects one of those myths: "the home town we

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[88] Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), 316, 473-75, 483; "Big Movie Year," *Business Week*, February 13, 1943, 37-38; Peter A. Soderbergh, "The Grand Illusion: Hollywood and World War II, 1930-1945," *University of Dayton Review* 5 (winter 1968-1969): 18.

[89] Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Bicentennial Edition*, pt. 2, 399-401.

[90] See Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (New York: Free Press, 1987).

[91] Gladys Denny Shultz, "Comics—Radio—Movies," *Better Homes & Gardens* 24 (November 1945): 22-23, 73-75, 108; Jim Harmon and Donald F. Glut, *The Great Movie Serials: Their Sound and Fury* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 217-19, 235-41, 244-61, 273-81; Stedman, *The Serials*, 329-39.

dreamed of overseas; rich and contented, with chicken and blueberry pie on Sundays, for whose sake some said we were fighting the war." "One big family—that is America," stated one film character. "We all see eye to eye," asserted another.[92]

"Mom, what was on the radio before the war started?" a home front girl asked. Children's radio adventure programs were integral to their home front experiences. These shows had a moral tone that was similar in its righteousness to home front children's movie serials. Good confronted evil and justice prevailed. Focusing on the need to defeat German and Japanese villains, the radio shows exhorted children to collect scrap materials, buy War Bonds, and plant victory gardens. Listeners to *Dick Tracy*, for example, took the five-point pledge to combat waste, vowing "to save water, gas and electricity, to save fuel oil and coal, to save my clothes, to save Mom's furniture, to save my playthings." These girls and boys had the satisfaction of having their names placed on the Victory Honor Roll, which the show's announcer guaranteed would be read by General Dwight D. Eisenhower at his headquarters. In 1943, more than a million children joined the Jack Armstrong Write-A-Fighter Corps, pledging to write once a month to a service person as well as to collect scrap and tend their victory gardens. Most of all, these radio shows reaffirmed the nation's patriotism and determination to be victorious. Every week during the war, western hero Tom Mix fought spies and saboteurs on his show, and on V-E Day, May 8, 1945, he told his listeners: "We've shown Hitler and his gang that we know how to lick bullies and racketeers, but we've still got a big job to do . . . fighting the Japs."[93]

Whatever their mission, most of the radio "superheroes and supersleuths" shared one characteristic: they were male. There were few women adventure heroes; women starred not in these shows, but on the daytime serials such as *Stella Dallas*, *Portia Faces Life*, *Our Gal Sunday*, and *Ma Perkins*. One of the few crime drama heroines was Little Orphan Annie, and while some male heroes, such as Jack Armstrong and Captain Midnight, had girls for sidekicks, they did in the same way that the Lone Ranger had his "faithful Indian companion" Tonto by his side and the Green Hornet had a loyal Filipino valet.[94]

But there was one undeniable woman hero during the war: Wonder Woman. She was "as wise as Athena and as lovely as Aphrodite, she had the speed of Mercury and the strength of Hercules." Since this was wartime, Wonder Woman was a patriot who fought Axis spies, and she did so in her red-white-and-blue costume. She also was an Amazon and had honed her superhuman skills in training with her sisters on Paradise Island, their home. Like the male heroes, Wonder Woman had marvelous gadgets. She had a golden magic lasso which she threw with unerring accuracy, and with her bulletproof bracelets, she reacted with incredible quickness to stop speeding projectiles. And she flew on her missions in an invisible airplane, which was also a time machine.[95]

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[92] Milton Lehman, "Red Oak Hasn't Forgotten," *Saturday Evening Post*, August 17, 1946, 14; Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 160.

[93] "Jack the Nazi Killer," *Newsweek* 22 (August 23, 1943): 80; Robert C. Ferguson, "Americanism in Late Afternoon Radio Adventure Serials, 1940-1945" (unpublished paper), 4-8; MacDonald, *Don't Touch That Dial*, 68-69, 203-4; Thomas Whiteside, "Up, Up and Awa-a-y," *New Republic* 116 (March 3, 1947): 15-17; Jim Harmon, *The Great Radio Heroes* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 49-51.

[94] "Jack the Nazi Killer," 80; MacDonald, *Don't Touch That Dial*, 257-71; Stedman, *The Serials*, 330.

[95] Gloria Steinem, "Introduction," in *Wonder Woman* edited by William Moulton Marston (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), unpaginated; Gerhart Saenger, "Male and Female Relations in the American Comic Strip," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1955): 195-205.

For Americans, popular culture—and, indeed, the media generally—comforted, amused, and thrilled, but also sometimes terrified during the years from 1941 to 1945.

Conclusion

The far-reaching effects of the Second World War at home and abroad transformed many American families, some positively, some tragically. In the forty-five months it took to win the war, massive forces, beginning with the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941 and ending with Hiroshima and Nagasaki in rubble, changed America's families forever. Moreover, because of the events that ended the Second World War—the Holocaust and the atomic bomb—Americans shed some of their innocence.

The social forces buffeting American families were undeniably powerful, and a persistent wartime question was, "Can Families Take It?" Although family life was severely tested, the American family showed its resilience time after time in the face of dislocation, separation, and even death. Despite the drawbacks of living in a war-boom community, for example, most families decided that they would rather live together as a family, even if the best housing available was a chicken coop. As much as the war battered mothers, fathers, and children, it also deepened their appreciation of family togetherness.[96]

Sadly, many wartime marriages were hasty and did not survive long military separations. As a result, divorces soared—from 25,000 in 1939, to 359,000 in 1943, and 485,000 in 1945.[97] Men's military service also deeply affected their families, which had to cope with both intense pride and intense fear as "Daddy," or some other significant male, departed for the war. Some families' problems did not end when the war was over and "Daddy" came home. Indeed, for these families, the full effects of the war were not immediately apparent. Although the American Psychiatric Association did not identify Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder until 1980, it is clear in retrospect that American veterans suffered greatly from that illness after the Second World War. Symptoms included nightmares and flashbacks to the battlefield, depression and anger, and widespread alcoholism. "Dad came home a different man," recalled a home front girl; "he didn't laugh as much and he drank a lot."[98]

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[96] Rachel Dunaway Cox, "Can Families Take It?" *Parents' Magazine* 18 (August 1943): 19, 91, 94-95; U.S. Senate, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, *Wartime Health and Education* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943-44), 617-19; Tolan Committee, *Hearings*, pt. 32, 12223-24.

[97] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 219-20, 256-57.

[98] *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-III-R* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, revised third edition, 1987), 247-51; see also Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973); Charles R. Figley and Seymour Leventman, eds., *Strangers at Home: Vietnam Veterans since the War* (New York: Prager, 1980); Myra MacPherson, *Long-Time Passing: Vietnam and the Haunted Generation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 177-96; Bessel Van der Kolk, ed., *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Psychological and Biological Sequelae* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press, 1984); Arthur Egendorf, *Healing from the War: Trauma & Transformation after Vietnam* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985); William E. Kelley, ed., *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the War Veteran Patient* (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1985); Glen H. Elder, Jr., and Elizabeth C. Clipp, "Combat Experience, Comradeship, and Psychological Health," in John P. Wilson et al., eds., *Human Adaptation to Extreme Stress: From the Holocaust to Vietnam* (New York: Plenum, 1988), 131-56; Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Estimated Number of Veterans of World War II in Continental United States, by States: April 1, 1947*, series P-25, no. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1947), 1-2; Administrator of Veterans Affairs, *Annual Report . . . 1946* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1947), 104-5; Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 212-30.

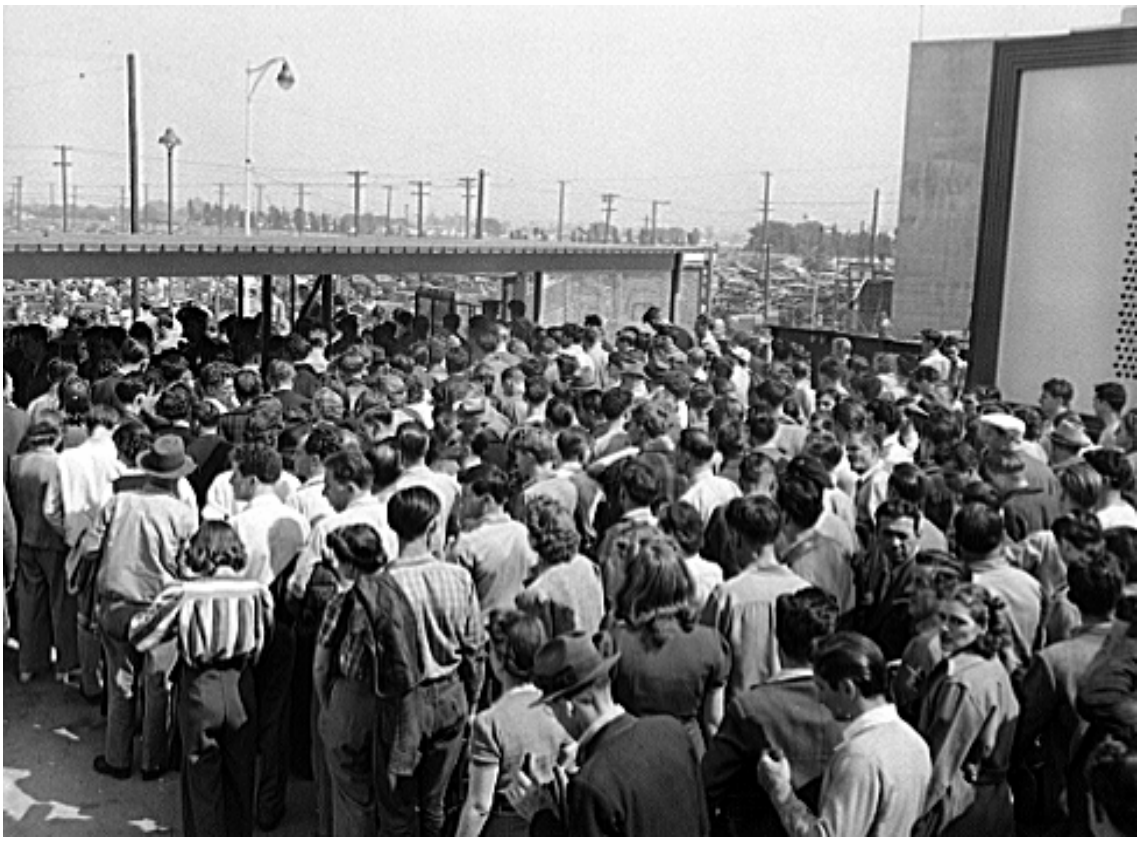
After two or three years abroad, men and women in the service returned to the United States not knowing what to expect from civilian life. Many G.I.s feared that life at home had passed them by. They were much older in experience and exposure to brutality; many came back to the United States convinced that they had sacrificed their youth. The men and women who returned from battlefields around the globe worried about the future. Many fathers arrived home not knowing where they would fit into the familial scheme. "Domestic life, so longed for in foxholes," wrote two child development experts in 1946, "may seem in the first difficult days to be a woman-dominated, intricate array of trivialities in which a man has neither the wish nor the power to find a real place. The pattern of life for his wife and children seems to be complete without him."[99]

On the other hand, wartime service not only broadened soldiers' horizons but also fostered their ambitions. A soldier from the Midwest, who found himself "living among fellows from all over the country," observed that he had "picked up a lot of ideas from them . . . about how to live my own life and to get more out of it. I came out a lot more ambitious than I was before I went in." Many G.I.s returned to civilian life with new skills they had learned in the military's technical schools. Millions took advantage of the educational benefits provided by the G.I. Bill of Rights (1944) to study for a college degree, while millions more used the G.I. Bill to buy houses and start businesses. And all agreed that what postwar America really needed was more babies.[100]

[99] Anna W. M. Wolf and Irma Simonton Black, "What Happened to the Younger People," in Jack Goodman, editor, *While You Were Gone: A Report on Wartime Life in the United States* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), 71; Virginia M. Moore, "When Father Comes Marching Home," *Parents' Magazine* 20 (January 1945): 16-17, 112; Catherine Mackenzie, "Fathers Home from the War," *New York Times*, February 4, 1945; John F. Cuber, "Family Readjustment of Veterans," *Marriage and Family Living* 7 (Spring 1945): 28-30; Reuben Hill, "The Returning Father and His Family," *Marriage and Family Living* 7 (Spring 1945): 31-34; James H. S. Bossard, "Family Problems of the Immediate Future," *Journal of Home Economics* 37 (September 1945): 383-87; Whitman M. Reynolds, "When Father Comes Home Again," *Parents' Magazine*, 20 (October 1945): 28 ff.; and the entire issue of *American Journal of Sociology* 51 (March 1946).

[100] See Michael J. Bennett, *When Dreams Came True: The G.I. Bill and the Making of Modern America* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1996); Landon Y. Jones, *Great Expectations: America and the Baby Boom Generation* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1980).

PART THREE: LABOR AND THE WORKING CLASS IN WORLD WAR II



Workers lined up for car pooling at the Lockheed Vega aircraft plant in Burbank, California. June 1942. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USE6-D-004527].

PART THREE: LABOR AND THE WORKING CLASS IN WORLD WAR II

Nelson Lichtenstein

The history of World War II labor—both organized and not—is today shrouded not only by the passage of time, but by the recent, radical transformation of American work, American politics, and the American economy. Indeed, in the early 21st century those who seek to explain why and how the trade unions played such an important role during the Second World War face a set of obstacles akin to that confronting those archeologists and anthropologists who study societies that seem ancient and alien to our time and place. Today we live in a service economy in which most workers wear collars that are white, pink, or gray. There are still plenty of blue collar workers around, but compared to the era of World War II, when some 43 percent of all Americans worked in a factory, warehouse, mill, mine, or other such dirty-hands facility, the world of the early 21st century is one of desks, counters, lecterns, steering wheels, keypads, and headsets. Eighty percent of all Americans are still working-class—they get a wage in exchange for the hours they devote to their employer's will—but they do not look like the mainly male, mainly factory, ethnic American or African American workers of World War II.

Even more important, trade unionism is near extinction in the American workplace. Less than 9 percent of all workers in the private sector are members of trade unions; if public employment is included that proportion rises to almost 14 percent. Despite the efforts of many valiant and intelligent people, trade unionism is shrinking. During World War II, on the other hand, the great trade unions were newly minted dynamos, on their way to representing a full third of all American workers. In the most advanced, strategically potent, politically sensitive sectors of the economy–aircraft, electrical products, steel, transport, and automobile manufacturing–they enrolled nearly 100 percent of all production workers. Between 1939 and 1945, the employees of General Motors, the largest and most emulated corporation in the world, were represented by the United Automobile Workers, then the largest and most dynamic trade union in the world. Today, the 1.1 million employees of Wal-Mart, the largest corporation in the world and one of the most emulated, are represented by no union. Most Americans have never been in a union, and if they think about organized labor at all, images of dead Teamsters, lost strikes, and vacant factories are likely to come to mind.[1]

Telling labor's story therefore requires a considerable leap of the historical imagination. By analogy, imagine that we are recounting the contribution of the 186,000 black soldiers who served in the Union Army to the Northern victory in the Civil War. But we are writing, not in the early 21st century, but in 1915 when the pro-Ku Klux Klan *Birth of a Nation* played the White House and when segregation was the law, de facto or de jure, in most states. In that year, many in our audience would have seen arming African Americans as a disaster in the making, a foretaste of Reconstruction, when hard-pressed Southern whites were unjustly oppressed by carpetbaggers from the North. Or suppose that we are commemorating the role played by women workers in World War II, but the year is 1953, when most social commentators blamed juvenile delinquency and the rising divorce rate on women's absence from the home.

[1] For a discussion of the contemporary status of organized labor, both moral and statistical, see Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Why Big Labor was Big–and Exciting

The first thing to know about the unions is why they were so legitimate, so popular, so central to American political life during the era of their modern birth, less than a decade before the onset of World War II. There were two reasons why the creation of a powerful trade union movement in the 1930s became a national project, championed by Franklin Roosevelt and other New Dealers, in addition to being a labor and working-class cause. The first was the Great Depression itself. In the 1930s, many journalists, politicians, and economists blamed the economic collapse on "underconsumption." During the first three decades of the 20th century wages had not kept up with productivity. Most manufacturers wanted high wages for the working class in general, but not for the particular group that worked in their mine, mill, factory, or department store. Intense price competition drove down wages in textiles, coal mining, electrical products, and steel manufacture. During the Depression, the cost of such "cut-throat" competition became clear in a downward, socially dysfunctional cycle. "If the wages of mill workers in the South should be raised to the point where workers could buy shoes, that would be a social revolution," declared Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins in 1933.[2]

Unions would therefore serve as a kind of proletarian policeman, insuring that unionized companies paid high and uniform wages, thus eliminating wage cuts or long hours as a competitive advantage that one business might seek to gain over another. Moreover, most progressives, in government and out, saw mass unionism as the lever that would generate what unionists and New Dealers called "purchasing power," putting money in consumer pocketbooks and thereby ending the Great Depression. Today, we usually argue about the kind of tax cut or the size of the government spending program necessary to stimulate the economy in bad times. But until the onset of massive military spending during World War II, federal taxation and spending programs were far too small to have much effect on economic growth. That task was to be left to the unions, whose industry-wide bargaining power was advanced by the New Dealers precisely because it would force employers to pay higher wages, thereby priming the economic pump and redistributing income from the top to the bottom of the income pyramid. Moreover, trade union bargaining pressure tended to equalize wages across regions, industries, and occupations, and even between races and genders (and this despite union sexism and racism).

Ending the Depression and raising wages, however, was not the main reason that Congress passed laws designed to encourage trade unionism in the 1930s. For nearly a century, reformers and labor partisans had seen a contradiction between the free speech, democratic participation, and masterless autonomy valued by American political culture and the discipline, obedience, and deference expected in the workplace. Thus President Franklin Roosevelt counterpoised the spirit of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln to the "economic royalists" whose 20th century power and privilege undermined the "liberty" for which Americans had fought at the end of the 18th century and then again in the middle of the next.

FDR's reconceptualization of American liberalism in the 1930s was predicated on the belief that the greatest threat to our republican form of government came from concentrated capital rather than from an overweening state. New York Senator Robert Wagner, the legislative architect of the 1935 law that bears his name, agreed: "Industrial tyranny is incompatible with a republican form of government." The task of modern government, asserted FDR, was "to assist the

[2] Quoted in Bryant Simon, *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 88.

development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order." This "industrial democracy" encompassed collective bargaining, of course, but it evoked a much more ambitious social agenda as well. On the shop floor, industrial democrats called for a constitutionalization of factory governance, to ensure that Americans working in factories, mills, and offices had the same rights—due process, free speech, and the rights of assembly and petition—that the Constitution guaranteed them elsewhere in society.[3]

This was the Wagner Act's animating purpose. The 1935 act was not a passive instrument; it positively encouraged workers to form trade unions. A National Labor Relations Board held thousands of plant-site elections, certified unions as legal bargaining agents, and penalized employers who deprived workers of their new rights. The Wagner Act defined as an "unfair labor practice" a wide variety of management practices: intimidation and firing of union workers, failure to bargain in good faith, and meddling in the affairs of the union that represented their employees.

The National War Labor Board, established in December 1941, refined and advanced key elements of the Wagner Act labor relations regime. Although union leaders pledged not to strike for the duration of the war, organized labor won a government-mandated "maintenance-of-membership" rule, finally codified in mid-1942, which in practice was tantamount to the union shop that required all workers to join the union that was their bargaining agent. Equally important, the War Labor Board (WLB) insisted that an elaborate four-step grievance procedure, usually ending with an outside arbitrator, govern the conflicts that emerged out of the day-to-day life of the workplace. To WLB officials like Wayne Morse, elected an Oregon senator as a Republican in 1944, this constitutionalization of the workplace represented the next stage in the evolution of American democracy. "The progress of civilization cannot be stemmed," he told a union audience in 1943. "We must advance from the application of the law of the jungle to the use of the law of reason . . . labor disputes must be approached upon the basis of calm deliberation and an intelligent consideration and understanding of the economic and social problems involved."[4] Hopes for such an amicable resolution of all industrial conflict would be stillborn, but under this Wagner Act-War Labor Board regime more than ten million new workers did join the trade unions, half during the Depression decade and another five million during the war itself.

The labor movement of the 1930s and 1940s was divided into two federations. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was the more conservative half, largely composed of the old-line craft unions. Founded in 1886, the AFL bitterly resented the emergence of the new, dynamic, leftist Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which organized workers on an industry-wide basis. The CIO was actually smaller than the AFL during the 1940s, but it organized workers in the auto/aircraft, steel, electrical products, oil, and shipbuilding sectors that stood at the heart of the war economy. John L. Lewis, the sonorous-voiced president of the United Mine Workers, helped found the CIO and led it until 1940. During the war, the AFL sometimes opposed federal government policy to support the demands of its members. The CIO, which was more pro-Roosevelt and had a sizable Communist contingent, was more willing to subordinate some trade union issues to the struggle against the Axis. As we shall see, this posture did not always sit well with a restive, self-confident rank and file.

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[3] Lichtenstein, *State of the Union*, 32-38.
[4] Wayne Morse, "Address to Photo-Engravers' Union," January 17, 1943, in National War Labor Board, *Termination Report*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1947), 514.

Labor and the War, 1939-1941

After the September 1939 German invasion of Poland inaugurated the European phase of the Second World War, America's gradual shift from isolationism to rearmament was accompanied within the trade unions by a set of bitter political and ideological debates. During the "phony war" that lasted from October 1939 until May of 1940 almost all unionists wanted the U.S. to stay out of the conflict. They remembered the boom and bust cycle of World War I, the inflation and "Red Scare" of the 1917-21 era, and the lost strikes and anti-union legislation that accompanied the sharp recession of 1921-22. Many progressives and union members, including Lewis, thought that the Great Depression itself was a delayed product of the dislocations and unstable boom touched off by the Great War.

But in the months following the German conquest of France in the summer of 1940, most trade unionists came to support Roosevelt's program of active U.S. involvement in the conflict. Thus, when Lewis denounced Roosevelt and endorsed Wall Street utilities executive Wendell Willkie during the 1940 presidential campaign, few workers followed his lead, prompting Lewis to resign as president of the CIO. Unionists such as Philip Murray, the new CIO chief, and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, saw American participation in the war as politically advantageous to labor. Roosevelt, recognizing Hillman as an ally and a sympathetic spokesman in the labor movement, appointed him to important defense mobilization posts, including the co-chairmanship of the Office of Production Management in September 1940. In his new role, the CIO's co-founder worked to make unions full partners in the development of government economic and social policy. American Communists also lined up behind U.S. intervention, although not before alienating many former supporters by arguing that the war was merely one of imperialist rivalry when Hitler and Stalin were allies and then, after the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, declaring the conflict a great crusade against fascism.[5]

Nevertheless, labor leaders managed to take advantage of the employment boom during the defense period to expand the industrial union movement. Between June 1940 and December 1941, the unions launched a wave of strikes. Almost 2.5 million men and women engaged in some kind of work stoppage, over two-thirds of them under CIO leadership. Many strikers used a form of mass picketing; they kept out strikebreakers—and police—by surrounding plants with huge, densely packed moving picket lines. These strikes enrolled 1.5 million new members and won wage increases for workers from the southern Appalachian coalfields to the factories of General Motors, U.S. Steel, Allis-Chalmers, and General Electric.

Many of these work stoppages were strikes to gain union recognition from the nation's most anti-union employers. The most dramatic occurred at the Ford Motor Company, the only large automaker that had successfully resisted a United Auto Workers' (UAW) organizing drive in 1937. On April 1, 1941, tens of thousands of Ford workers walked out of the gigantic River Rouge complex in support of the union. Using their own automobiles as a barricade, the strikers formed a mobile picket line that stretched for miles around the Dearborn plant. Within a few weeks more than 100,000 new workers had joined the UAW, under a union-shop contract that turned the pioneer auto firm into a bastion of militant unionism almost overnight.

[5] Steven Fraser, *Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor* (New York: Free Press, 1991), 441-94.

The Ford victory was particularly important because it both symbolized and advanced an alliance that was forming between the mass-production unions and the African American community. Henry Ford had long been celebrated as a racial paternalist with many connections to black ministers and civic leaders. More than 10,000 African Americans were employed at "the Rouge," some in skilled occupations. As a consequence, many observers feared that the Ford strike would turn into a picket-line race riot. But such skirmishes were few and the vast bulk of Ford's African American workforce quickly transferred their loyalty from the Ford Motor Company to the UAW. At the Rouge complex itself, a new generation of militant black workers stepped forward, both in the UAW and the larger Detroit community.[6]

The Almanac Singers (Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Baldwin "Butch" Hawes) commemorated the Ford victory early in 1942, perfectly capturing a left-progressive vision of unionized workers in the anti-fascist struggle:

> I was there when the Union came to town,
> I was there when old Henry Ford went down:
> I was standing at Gate Four
> When I heard the people roar:
> "Ain't nobody keeps us Autoworkers down!"
>
> It's that UAW-CIO
> Makes the Army roll and go—Turning out the jeeps
> and tanks and airplanes every day
> It's the UAW-CIO
> Makes the Army roll and go—Puts wheels on the USA
>
> There'll be a union-label in Berlin
> When the union boys in uniform march in:
> And rolling in the ranks
> There'll be UAW tanks—
> Roll Hitler out and roll the Union in![7]

Despite the UAW's victory at Ford and similar union breakthroughs at Bethlehem Steel and in the Chicago meat-packinghouses, the organizing drive of 1940-41 became entangled in mobilization politics. In January 1941, Roosevelt declared that "whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need." Building on that premise, defense contractors, congressional conservatives, the military, and the White House demanded an end to industrial disputes, which the War Department called "an unpredictable drain on defense production." At Sidney Hillman's urging, a number of CIO unions called off their strikes, and the AFL agreed to curtail work stoppages on defense-related construction sites.

Neither Hillman nor the president could guarantee compliance at the local level where the conflicts that had animated unionists and managers since the early days of the Depression did not diminish. When a strike broke out at Milwaukee's large Allis-Chalmers complex in January 1941, all the most contentious issues were on the table. Allis-Chalmers built a wide variety of

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[6] August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
[7] Quoted in Alan Clive, *State of War: Michigan in World War II* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), 61.

the most complex engines, generators, and machinery, much of it essential to Roosevelt's vision of the U.S. as the "arsenal of democracy." But conservative Allis-Chalmers executives–they were called "brass hats"—hated the Communist-led UAW local union that had battled its way into the factory during a series of Depression-era struggles. Indeed, the workforce at Allis-Chalmers, like that in many other urban factories, was itself bitterly divided along political, ethnic, and religious lines. The sometimes violent strike continued for 76 days.[8]

Labor leaders feared that executives like those at Allis-Chalmers would take advantage of the defense emergency, the patriotic fever sweeping the nation, and the endemic tensions within the working population to divide the unions and roll back labor's new found power. Conservatives had already called for a ban on strikes in defense industries and for a legislative prohibition against the union shop, which they had long condemned as an infringement upon the rights of individual workers. Anti-union conservatives accused "union bosses" of threatening the livelihood of non-union workers. But virtually all unionists insisted that the union shop, or some other form of "union security," was essential, both as an indication that employers actually accepted unions as a permanent part of American industrial life and as a guarantee that workers who benefited from union-won wage and working conditions would pay their fair share of union dues.

To resolve this and other issues, including those involving wages and other shop grievances, the Roosevelt administration set up the National Defense Mediation Board (NDMB) late in March 1941. The new board, like the WLB which replaced it after Pearl Harbor, included representatives of organized labor, management, and government. The NDMB/WLB would eventually become a powerful arbitration agency that sought to resolve industrial disputes, avoid strikes, and insure union growth. Though CIO president Philip Murray feared that the NDMB would automatically "find its attention directed against labor in order to maintain the status quo as much as possible," both the CIO and the AFL agreed to cooperate with the government in this strike-avoidance institution. Along with businessmen and government officials, Murray and the AFL's William Green became NDMB board members.

A California aircraft strike in June 1941 soon demonstrated the extent to which the federal government would throw its weight against union militancy and political radicalism to avoid work stoppages in defense industries. In the months before Pearl Harbor the Roosevelt administration made it clear that strikes in defiance of the NDMB or other wartime agencies would not be tolerated.

Wages were low and profits enormous at the North American Aviation plant in Inglewood, California, which supplied training planes to the Army Air Forces. But management at North American and other booming Southern California firms resisted union demands for recognition and higher pay. The dispute was put in the hands of the NDMB, but, after weeks of delay, the Communist-led union called a strike to prod both company and federal agency. Sidney Hillman and Roosevelt administration officials joined with the Army's top brass to persuade UAW leaders in Detroit to declare the strike a "wildcat," or unauthorized work stoppage. They believed the strike was motivated largely by Communists, at that time opposed to the defense effort. When strike leaders resisted orders from UAW officials to return to work, President Roosevelt dispatched 2,500 active-duty troops to disperse the pickets and banned all gatherings

[8] Stephen Meyer, *"Stalin Over Wisconsin": The Making and Unmaking of Militant Unionism, 1900-1950* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992); Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 49-50.

within a one-mile radius of the factory. Within a few days, the strike had been broken. But at Inglewood and elsewhere, government authorities did not seek to smash trade unionism outright, only to tame and contain it. In California, the Army itself urged the NDMB to give workers at North American a big wage increase, thus both helping national UAW leaders reclaim the loyalty of the work force and facilitating production. When wages at the plant were boosted in July, a UAW paper greeted news of the award with the triumphant headline "Responsible Unionism Wins at Inglewood."[9]

The wartime industrial-relations system was codified in the month immediately after Pearl Harbor. In return for their unconditional no-strike pledge, the unions expected the WLB to fairly and promptly adjudicate the industrial disputes that were normally the subject of collective bargaining. They also expected the WLB and other federal agencies to insure that real hourly wages were not eroded by the inflation that was certain to accompany the war effort. The keystone of the WLB's wage policy was a July 1942 decision in the "Little Steel" case that raised hourly wages for workers at the nation's smaller steel companies just 15 percent above the level of January 1, 1941. Since most union workers had already won a negotiated wage increase of that size in the spring of 1941, the WLB's "Little Steel formula" meant that few workers, in the steel industry or out, could expect a straightforward wage boost for the duration of the war.[10]

The war ended the Depression with a massive dose of government-stimulated demand. Gross National Product would double between 1940 and 1945, but because of chronic shortages in machinery, raw materials, and labor the government could not let the cost and pace of either military or civilian production be determined by the free market. That much became clear even in 1941, when Detroit's auto makers, enjoying their best year since 1929, delayed converting their factories to military production of tanks and aircraft. Government officials concluded that the whole economy would have to be centrally planned, and controls placed on the cost of virtually everything, from steel and machine tools to chickens, chocolate, and clothing. In 1942 Roosevelt established the War Production Board to do much of this centralized planning.

FDR assigned primary responsibility for mobilizing industry to the military and to corporate executives. The armed services set overall production requirements, and executives took the key posts in the mobilization agencies in Washington, D.C, serving as "dollar-a-year men" while remaining on their company payrolls. They established what Sears vice president Donald Nelson, who became chairman of the War Production Board, called "a set of rules under which the game could be played the way industry said it had to be played." The government suspended antitrust laws, paid most of the cost of constructing new defense plants, and lent much of the rest at low interest rates. "Cost-plus" contracts guaranteed a profit on the production of military goods.[11]

Government planning of this sort fostered further concentration of the U.S. economy. In 1940, the top one hundred companies turned out 30 percent of the nation's total manufactured goods. By the end of the war, those same one hundred companies held 70 percent of all civilian and military manufacturing contracts. Executives used their connections to key military procurement officers to obtain prime contracts, as well as the material and labor needed to meet production requirements. Coca-Cola accompanied the troops overseas, where bottling plants followed the

[9] Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home*, 51-66.
[10] Ibid., 70-72.
[11] Bruce Catton, *The War Lords of Washington* (New York: Harper and Row, 1948), 149; Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1972), 7-9.

battle lines; a piece of Wrigley's gum went into each soldier's K-rations. Thousands of institutional advertisements, linking corporate images to the production of war material, appeared in newspapers and magazines. Because they were tax-deductible business expenses, these advertisements were paid for almost entirely by the federal treasury. They helped sustain the publishing industry and kept corporate brands in the public mind, even when production for the civilian market was severely restricted.

A Workers' War, 1942-1945

World War II was a metal-turning, engine-building, multiyear conflict that required an enormous amount of manual labor. Thus unemployment, still at 15 percent in 1940, virtually disappeared by early 1943. Forty-three percent of all nonagricultural workers were now blue-collar workers, the highest proportion in U.S. history. World War II-era factories and shipyards were gigantic, not only because production requirements were huge, but also because the technology of what was then still wondrously called "mass production" brought together vast numbers of men, women, and machines.

In the aircraft industry, for example, 100,000 Americans worked at the Douglas Aviation plants in El Segundo and Long Beach, California; 50,000 at a Curtiss-Wright plant in Paterson, New Jersey; 60,000 at the Boeing factories in Seattle and Tacoma; and 40,000 at Ford's Willow Run bomber plant near Ypsilanti, Michigan. Chrysler's Dodge Division built a giant engine plant on Chicago's West Side, where 33,000 workers crafted more than 18,500 Wright Cyclone engines for B-29 bombers. Bell Aircraft married those engines to the B-29 airframe at a huge new factory in Marietta, Georgia, where 27,000 workers were turning out 65 planes each month in the final year of the war. Aircraft were even built in New York City where Brewster employed nearly 9,000 to build Navy fighters in a multistory Long Island City factory (and another 12,000 at a new government financed facility near Johnstown, Pennsylvania). Most airframes were built in rural complexes next to newly bulldozed airstrips. Thus Fort Worth, Texas; Wichita, Kansas; San Diego, California; and Nassau County on Long Island became aircraft production centers employing tens of thousands of new industrial recruits.[12]

Shipbuilding was an industry second only to aircraft in its man and womanpower requirements. Battleships, including *Missouri*, upon whose deck Japanese ministers would sign the instruments of surrender, were constructed at the great Brooklyn Navy Yard which employed an astonishing 71,000 New Yorkers at its wartime peak in 1944. Maine's historic Bath Iron Works built destroyers, while Electric Boat in New London, Connecticut, employed more than 15,000 New England submarine craftsmen. Larger fighting ships, including enormous aircraft carriers, were built by New York Ship in Philadelphia and Newport News Shipbuilding in Virginia.[13]

Shipyards and military bases transformed the Gulf Coast. Some 20,000 workers built PT boats and the versatile Higgins landing craft in and around New Orleans; Mobile and Pascagoula shipyards built scores of larger transports; and in the tiny town of Seneca, Illinois, on the Illinois River, 10,600 workers launched 157 LSTs ("Landing Ships Tank") and floated them downriver

[12] Jacob Vander Meulen, *Building the B-29* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 36-98 passim; Philip Scranton, ed., *The Second Wave: Southern Industrialization from the 1940s to the 1970s* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 24-42.
[13] Joshua Freeman, *Working-Class New York: Life and Labor Since World War II* (New York; The New Press, 2000), 164; David Palmer, *Organizing the Shipyards: Union Strategy in Three Northeast Ports, 1933-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

to the Gulf. Meanwhile, even more spectacular production feats were at hand in Richmond, California, and Portland, Oregon, where Henry Kaiser's shipyards recruited nearly a hundred thousand unskilled men and women, who then proceeded to use an innovative set of production techniques to construct, assemble, and launch more than one-third of the nation's merchant shipping. Most were Liberty Ships, whose construction time, from keel-laying to salt-water commission, dropped from months to weeks, and in the case of the *Robert E. Peary*, to less than five full days.[14]

Some of this production really was like that of the automobile assembly-line that has become a metaphor for U.S. production prowess during World War II. Much else, especially that in aircraft factories, shipyards, and precision electronics, required millions of workers with unique, craft-like skills. Military production, with its demand for technological precision and innovation generated by new battlefield conditions, often required a higher degree of skill and initiative than did pre-war mass production. An innovative "Training Within Industry" (TWI) program, largely pushed forward by liberals and organized labor, upgraded the skills of several million workers. Unlike other job-training programs, workers already held the job for which they were being trained or one very similar to it. This gave both workers and employers a great incentive to actually learn and made TWI extremely successful. Thousands of women learned arc welding, which had been an exclusively male trade before the war; and the TWI program taught hundreds of thousands of young people draftsmanship, tooling skills, and production-oriented mathematics.

The war proved especially beneficial to the American West, whose Pacific ports, favorable climate, and huge tracts of federally-owned land for testing airplanes and weapons, attracted military procurement contracts. The big winner was California, which received on-eighth of all war orders. Shipbuilder Henry Kaiser also built California's first integrated steel mill at Fontana. Aircraft worker Don McFadden remembered that Los Angeles, where six major aircraft manufacturers were located within ten miles of downtown, "was just like a beehive. . . . The defense plants were moving full-time. . . . Downtown movies were staying open twenty-four hours a day." The University of California, the California Institute of Technology, and Stanford became key links in the military's weapons-development program. Of the 515,000 new migrants to the San Francisco Bay Area, more than 65 percent came from somewhere east of the Sierra, most from the band of states that stretched from Minnesota and Iowa to Texas and Louisiana. "It was as if someone had tilted the country," noted one observer. "People, money, and soldiers all spilled west."[15]

Full employment had a radical impact on the lives of ordinary Americans. Even before Pearl Harbor, many commodity-producing industries like coal and copper mining, steel, and cotton textiles were once again running full bore, lifting incomes and spirits from Kannapolis to Pittsburgh, from Butte to Bisbee. The railroads began to hire once again and so too, the transoceanic shipping companies. Meanwhile, construction of military airstrips, bases, and barracks generated a huge demand for building workers in the South and on the Pacific Coast, where most of these training facilities were located. Then in 1942 came the conversion of

[14] Stephen Adams, *Mr. Kaiser Goes to Washington: The Rise of a Government Entrepreneur* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 112-122; Bruce Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

[15] Marilynn S. Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 43; Gerald Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

heartland industries like auto, electrical products, and machine tools to the needs of military production. This generated a wave of layoffs during the first half of that year, but by early 1943, unemployment had dropped to less than 2 percent, as labor shortages appeared in key locations (Buffalo, San Diego, Portland) and in vital occupations (machinists, optical craftsmen, copper miners, even textile operatives who were now fleeing the low-wage South for jobs that paid twice as much in Akron and Baltimore).

Indeed, 15 million workers—a third of the prewar work force—used their new power to change and upgrade their jobs. Some shifted from one factory department or office to another; at least 4 million—triple the prewar total—crossed state lines to find better jobs. The rural South experienced the largest exodus, California and Michigan the greatest influx. Washington, D.C. was inundated by tens of thousands of "government girls," black and white, who shared rooms and rotated beds in new government-financed, segregated brick apartment buildings or hastily built temporary dormitories. Factory work, especially in defense facilities, grew in prestige and earning power.[16]

To reduce absenteeism, the federal government funded workplace amenities such as in-plant training and cafeterias. Brewster Local 365 held noon-time dances right on the factory floor. Kaiser and Boeing established child-care facilities next to their factories. "For the majority of workers the war was an experience of opportunity rather than limitation," observed Katherine Archibald of her fellow shipyard workers in Oakland, California. "It was like a social," Peggy Terry of Paducah, Kentucky, said, remembering her first months in a defense plant. "Now we'd have money to buy shoes and a dress and pay rent and get some food on the table. We were just happy to have work."[17]

Most servicemen and urban workers enjoyed an unprecedented rise in their standard of living during the war. Between 1939 and 1945, real wages grew by 27 percent. The wages of those at the bottom of the social scale grew more rapidly than the highly taxed incomes of those at the top, generating the most progressive redistribution of American wealth in the 20th century. For the first time in the life of most workers, income tax withholding took a bite of each paycheck, but there was little popular resentment, because tax rates for the rich were much higher (up to 91 percent) and overtime earnings fattened up those weekly paychecks. George Peabody, who worked as a machinist at Lockheed, remembered that "My income increased very rapidly because of the number of hours I worked. By 1944 . . . it was eight hours a day on Saturdays and Sundays and ten to twelve hours a day all during the week. . . . Even though the wages per hour didn't increase a great deal, the take-home pay was tremendous by comparison."[18]

The military provided medical and educational benefits for a substantial portion of the male population, while a larger proportion of the working class—urbanized, unionized, and monitored by an array of governmental agencies—now had the opportunity and the income to take advantage of schools, hospitals, clinics, and training. Life expectancy, after remaining stagnant

[16] Henry Shryock and Hope Eldridge, "Internal Migration in Peace and War," *American Sociological Review* 12 (February 1947): 27-39; David Brinkley, *Washington Goes to War* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 104-110.
[17] Katherine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard: A Study in Social Disunity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), 188; Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 75-152 passim.
[18] Quoted in Nelson Lichtenstein, Susan Strasser, and Roy Rosenzweig, *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society*, vol. 2 (New York: Worth Publishers, 2000), 507.

for a decade, increased by three years for the white population and five years for African Americans. Infant mortality declined by more than a third during the years 1939 to 1945.[19]

For white workers from immigrant backgrounds, there was an added benefit. Unlike the anti-immigrant Americanization campaigns of World War I, in this war propaganda was used to unify the American people around a vision of cultural pluralism. The *Detroit News* praised the nearly spotless attendance records of six workers at GM's Ternstedt Division in Detroit, whose names were Kowalski, Netowski, Bugai, Lugari, Bauer, and Pavolik. "Look at the names . . . the sort of names one finds on an All-American football team . . . and at Ternstedt's, management and workers alike are hailing them as the plant's All-American production team." In many factories and mills, new opportunities for promotion, combined with vigilance by the industrial unions, enabled "ethnics" to break into the skilled trades or the ranks of first-line supervisors. These wartime developments accelerated the decline of foreign-language radio programs and newspapers, fraternal organizations, and other immigrant working-class institutions that had begun in the previous decade.[20]

Ethnic workers who moved into jobs previously reserved for non-immigrants also produced another consequence. In many factories and mills, these workers came to see their union steward and their seniority system as protectors of their (white) job rights, which they defended with almost as much steadfastness as they did their racially segregated neighborhoods. As Southern migrants poured into Detroit, Los Angeles, and Oakland, these cities and others like them became fertile soil for the racist propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan and other demagogues. In Detroit, for example, UAW-backed candidates never won the mayor's office, in part because unionized workers rejected the kind of labor-liberalism that advocated inter-racial public housing, fair employment laws for African Americans, and integration of the new working-class suburbs.[21]

A War of Liberation—at Home, 1942-45

World War II was the most popular war in American history. Unlike every other multi-year conflict—the Civil War, World War I, Korea, and Vietnam—public support for the war increased as each year went by. There were obvious political reasons for this: casualties were low until the summer of 1943; the war was fought against a powerful set of aggressive, authoritarian dictatorships; and official U.S. propaganda, at home and abroad, celebrated ethnic inclusion and racial tolerance. But World War II was also popular for reasons that government propagandists, and even some union leaders, were loath to celebrate. Despite American trade unionism's no-strike pledge and despite labor's commitment to cooperate with management in the production effort, American workers took advantage of the extraordinary social and political circumstances of the war effort to fulfill, at least in part, the radical, democratic agenda they had put forward during the 1930s. American trade unions increased their membership by more than four million during World War II, and they used the new grievance procedures and shop steward systems to challenge both management power and the hierarchies of language, skill, kinship,

[19] Geoffrey Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People, 1939-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 335, 355.
[20] Clive, *State of War*, 55; Richard Polenberg, *One Nation Divisible: Class, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States since 1938* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 54-61.
[21] Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the 20th Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

ethnicity, and race that had for so long structured factory life. Workers and unionists also brought this struggle into areas that had been immune to union influence before Pearl Harbor—the textile and aircraft industries and the ranks of white-collar and supervisory workers.

The R-3350 Cyclone engine was a complex and finely calibrated pieces of military equipment, and building it was no fun. An enormous air-cooled duplex-piston monster, the R-3350 had eighteen cylinders packed around its crankshaft. At 2,000 horsepower it was as powerful as the average railroad locomotive but weighed only as much as one of the locomotive's iron wheels. Twice as powerful as the B-17 engine and four times as complicated, it had to be ready when the oversized B-29 airframes became available in early 1944. Production took place at the gigantic, 6.3 million square foot Dodge-Chicago factory complex that 20,000 construction workers had built on 450 acres along Cicero Street. Plant 4, the assembly and machine shop, was the largest single factory anywhere, with 9,300 new metal-cutting machines under one roof. Employment soon climbed to 33,000.

Production got off to an exceedingly rocky start. Engineers made some 2,000 design changes during 1943 alone, which meant that technicians and skilled workers had to build most of the early R-3350s by hand. But such skilled workers were in short supply: foremen just "hired at the gate," so women made up 35 percent of the workforce and African Americans about 20 percent. Indeed, the managerial presence at Dodge-Chicago was slight, even neglectful. This was a cost-plus, war-baby factory that would cease to function at the end of the war; Chrysler executives were more concerned with the future of their Detroit-area facilities. William Knudsen, former president of General Motors, director of the Office of Production Management, and the first civilian to be made a general in the army, summed up the factory's problems in mid-1944 as a "general lack of organization or interest on the part of management and top supervisory personnel . . . bad planning, bad supervision." In the vast Dodge-Chicago complex, only one out-of-date copy of a management manual could be found.

But amazingly, or perhaps not so amazingly, this virtual absence of a management hierarchy created conditions under which the workers themselves, including technicians, low level supervisors, and union shop stewards, virtually took over this complicated production task. Government inspectors marveled at how people used their own initiative to complete their jobs and then found ways to help others and make themselves useful. There were no organization charts, flow charts, or clear systems of command and control. People made their own decisions and shared what they learned with others.

At Dodge-Chicago and other similar facilities, like the 10,000-worker aircraft building at the Ford Rouge complex and at Packard's big new Detroit marine engine plant, foremen and other low-level supervisors tended to be pro-union and hostile to top management. By 1944, thousands had joined the Foreman's Association of America, which soon sought affiliation with the CIO. Despite all the corporate advertisements and government posters lauding labor-management cooperation in the production effort, on the shop floor, the rank-and-file-workers and their immediate supervisors were seen as the real soldiers of production and the executives as the profit-driven interlopers. At Brewster's Long Island City plant, UAW Local 365 conducted a week-long "work-to-rule" job action late in 1942 to protest ineffective management and prod government agencies to raise and rationalize thousands of wage rates. Two years later, a pro-union foreman warned "Let the employer quit issuing trouble-making orders through

foremen to the rank and file with the purpose of testing out how far he can push labor around without a backlash."[22]

For corporate executives such worker and foreman independence represented chaos, insubordination, or worse, but production figures subverted such charges. At Dodge-Chicago workers regularly exceeded production schedules; "penalty engines," the ones that did not survive testing, dropped to less than 2 percent by early 1945. By war's end workers at Dodge-Chicago had built 18,500 B-29 engines, so many that the Army Air Forces stopped overhauling worn-out engines. They simply replaced them with fresh, factory-built R-3350s.[23]

Equally dramatic, and in some ways more politically and socially significant change came from within the world of Southern industry. The New Deal and the new industrial unionism had hardly reached the millions of low-wage, mill-village workers who labored in the thousands of racially-divided textile mills, tobacco manufacturing establishments, and other commodity-processing industries that characterized the industrializing New South. Here wartime labor shortages and the tools provided by the WLB and other federal agencies gave millions of Southern workers, both black and white, the chance to challenge traditional patterns and hierarchies.

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company had dominated the life of the city and its people for more than half a century. In 1943, billions of cigarettes were being sent to the troops who would soon embark for Europe and the far Pacific. In June, thousands of black women poured out of the stemmeries and joined the CIO's interracial United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America. Demanding respect and dignity (use of "missus" and their last names by white foremen addressing black women), these women and men won a smashing National Labor Relations Board victory in December. In early 1944, the WLB forced a reluctant Reynolds management to sign a binding contract. The new union had a near revolutionary impact on Winston-Salem, raising living standards and allowing both blacks and whites to participate in city government for the first time since the Populist insurgency of the 1890s. In a contest with a pro-company white shortly after the war, Reynolds workers helped elect the first black person to serve on a Southern city council since Reconstruction.[24]

Equally dramatic union breakthroughs took place elsewhere in the South. At the Dan River Mills in Virginia 12,000 workers won a WLB union contract in July 1943. A predominantly white work force at the Harriet and Henderson Textile Mills in Henderson, North Carolina, used the federal government's newly intrusive power to put managers on the defensive. Wages rose and a vigorous and forceful corps of shop stewards gave workers a sense that they were citizens on the job and off.

These changes met fierce resistance. In 1948, the union at Reynolds was broken amidst charges of Community infiltration, in a bitter National Labor Relations Board election. Many other wartime organizational gains, especially in textiles, retail trade, and among white-collar

[22] Nelson Lichtenstein and Stephen Meyer, *On the Line: Essays in the History of Auto Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 174.
[23] Most of the above from Vander Meulen, *Building the B-29*, 86-98.
[24] Robert Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

supervisors, were simply blocked or legislated into virtual illegality in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[25]

We do not think of the grocery story as a site of working-class struggle, but families have to eat, and during World War II the price of a pound of meat or a quart of milk was a highly contentious issue. Wartime price controls and rationing inevitably spawned a "black market," where food and fuel was sold illegally at inflated prices. For the government and most citizens, the black market was something used only by the selfish rich, by clever chiselers, and by those indifferent to an Axis victory. Nevertheless, the work of the Office of Price Administration (OPA) became infused with political controversy in the same way that the WLB and the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) became lightning rods in wartime class and racial conflicts of the war. We remember OPA today because of the thousands of forceful propaganda posters urging housewives and consumers to save fat, rubber, and gasoline and to use their ration books wisely. Everyone has heard colorful tales of wartime rationing, even if only third hand from aged relatives, but the work of the OPA was highly controversial and shot through with pro- and anti-New Deal sentiments.

Like the National Labor Relations Board and the FEPC, OPA's effectiveness depended upon the organized activism of huge numbers of anonymous individuals. In 1945, OPA employed nearly 75,000 people and enlisted the voluntary participation of another 300,000, mainly urban housewives and union activists, who checked the prices and quality of the consumer goods regulated by the government. Chester Bowles, the spirited New Deal liberal who succeeded Leon Henderson as chief of OPA, called the volunteer price checkers "as American as baseball," while merchants denounced them as a "kitchen Gestapo." Polls found that more than 80 percent of all citizens backed the OPA price-control regulations that protected family budgets against both market forces and the power of the big manufacturers and food processors. In response to the increasing effectiveness of wartime price controls, however, the National Association of Manufactures poured money into anti-OPA propaganda.[26]

Labor, Gender, and Race, 1941-45

Historians of the early 21st century are rewriting the story of the civil rights and women's rights movements. Both are commonly thought to be products of 1960s liberalism, whether manifested in the streets, the courtrooms, or the legislative chambers. These great transformations began well before 1939, but it was during World War II that millions of white women and millions of Latinos and African Americans of both genders brought their hopes and aspirations to thousands of shop and office floors in the very heart of the nation's arsenal of democracy. Most of the ideas, strategies, organizations, and legal issues that would become prominent in late 1950s and through the 1960s were already at work during World War II, a war that needed the support of those elements of the population that were neither white nor male.

The wartime mobilization transformed the roles of women in the workplace. Shortly after the nation entered the war, the War Manpower Commission mounted a special campaign to recruit women, especially married housewives, into the defense industries. Government propaganda sounded a patriotic, though hardly a feminist, trumpet: women workers were backing their men

[25] Daniel Clark, *Like Night & Day: Unionization in a Southern Mill Town* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 48-63, 201.
[26] Meg Jacobs, "How About Some Meat?: The Office of Price Administration, Consumption Politics, and State Building from the Bottom Up, 1941-1946," *Journal of American History* 84 (1997): 910-41.

at the front, not pioneering a pathway out of the kitchen. As *Glamour Girls of '43*, a government-produced newsreel, announced, "Instead of cutting the lines of a dress, this woman cuts the pattern of aircraft parts. Instead of baking a cake, this woman is 'cooking' gears to reduce the tension in the gears after use."

Women responded eagerly to the new opportunities. The number of employed women rose from 11 million to nearly 19 million during the war, though only about 6 million were completely new to wage labor. Although the WLB insisted on "equal pay for equal work," employers frequently assigned women to inspection or small assembly jobs, or simply reclassified jobs to escape equal pay provisions. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of women moved from low-paying jobs to higher-paying industrial work. In the auto industry, one of every twenty production workers was a woman in 1940; by 1944, the proportion had grown to one in five. Moreover, African American women, who had been confined largely to agricultural labor and domestic work before the war, made a dramatic and in some cases bitterly resisted move into higher-paying and more dignified factory, clerical, and sales work. By war's end, women doubled their union membership, from 10 percent to 20 percent.

The growth of female employment during the war did not generate a radical transformation in the way most Americans defined the rights and proper role of American women. Unions responded ambiguously to the needs of their new female members. Trade unions staunchly supported equal pay for equal work, if only to protect male members who might otherwise lose their jobs or their high pay to the tide of women workers. Most unions were apathetic or even hostile to such suggestions as maternity leave with continuous seniority or improved child care. A 1944 UAW conference of women workers endorsed such demands, but as Millie Jeffrey, the first head of the auto union's Women's Bureau, recalled, "The policies of the UAW were always very good. Getting them implemented was another story." When employers began to fire women workers at the end of the war, unions, including the UAW, raised few objections—perhaps not surprisingly given most unions' overwhelmingly male leadership. By 1947, the proportion of women in blue-collar jobs had fallen to its pre-war level.[27]

World War II had a very different impact upon those African Americans who were employed in industry. Almost 10 percent of the southern black population moved to northern cities during the war, while an approximately equal number migrated from farm to city within the South. The number of African Americans who held industrial jobs almost doubled, and earnings soared from 40 percent of the average white wage in 1939 to nearly 60 percent after the war. Even in the rural Mississippi Delta black farm wages increased five-fold between 1940 and 1948. The movement of Southern blacks from rural powerlessness to urban empowerment, one of the most important social and political transformations in American history, had begun before 1939, but accelerated dramatically during the war years, and continued for decades afterward.[28]

As African Americans gained access to better jobs and higher incomes, they began using official war propaganda, which emphasized democracy and equality, to legitimize their demands. In 1943, the WLB ordered an end to wage differentials based on race, explaining that "whether as

[27] Lichtenstein et al., *Who Built America?*, 507-511; David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*, vol. 9, *The Oxford History of the United States* (New York: The Oxford University Press, 1999), 779.
[28] Chester Morgan, "At the Crossroads: World War II, Delta Agriculture, and Modernization in Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History* 57 (1995): 253-71; Sumner Rosen, "The CIO Era, 1935-1955" in Julius Jacobsen ed., *The Negro and the American Labor Movement* (New York: New Politics, 1968), 188-208 passim.

vigorous fighting men or for production of food and munitions, *America needs the Negro.”* Removal of racial barriers at home, the board added, “is a test of our sincerity in the cause for which we are fighting.” The African American-owned *Pittsburgh Courier* popularized the “double-V” symbol, which stood for victory over fascism abroad and over discrimination at home. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the CIO became partners in forging a wartime labor-civil rights alliance. Despite the racism endemic to both white workers and corporate managers, the CIO’s campaign to organize a multiracial work force into plant-wide industrial unions gave black workers enormous leverage to press their grievances. Calling the CIO a “lamp of democracy,” an NAACP journalist wrote, “The South has not known such a force since the historic Union Leagues in the great days of the Reconstruction era.” NAACP membership soared by more than nine-fold during World War II. By 1945, it was no longer an organization of preachers and teachers, but one of increasingly self-confident industrial workers. In Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Winston-Salem, and Los Angeles this change in the character of the NAACP generated a whole new layer of civil rights leadership.[29]

A workman pours aluminum into molds at the Reynolds Metal Company in Sheffield, Alabama. Possibly dates to August 1942. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USW3-005438-D].

But if wartime conditions made African American advancement possible, forceful and well-organized protests of black workers were necessary to persuade unions and the federal government to root out discrimination in jobs, housing, and politics. The first, and in many ways the most dramatic, protest movement began in 1940, when A. Philip Randolph and other leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters decided that only a show of strength would win African Americans access to good jobs in the new defense plants. Randolph announced plans for a July 1, 1941, March on Washington, in which thousands of African Americans would descend on the still-segregated capital city unless the federal government took vigorous steps to end racial discrimination in war industries and the military. Throughout the nation, the chance to act stirred thousands of black Americans never before touched by a civil rights movement. Fearing the political consequences of such a demonstration, on June 25, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, creating the FEPC and directing government agencies, job-training programs, and contractors to avoid racial and religious discrimination. In return, Randolph canceled the march.

The FEPC demonstrated the extent to which civil rights and labor rights had become indistinguishable. Like the Wagner Act and the WLB, FEPC asserted that all Americans had a right to fairness on the job and at the hiring gate. As the Urban League’s Lester Granger put it, “Employment is a civil right.” But the FEPC was pitifully weak as a legal and administrative

[29] Richard Dalfiume, “The ‘Forgotten Years’ of the Negro Revolution,” *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968): 90-106; Harold Preece, “The South Stirs,” *Crisis* 48 (October 1941): 318.

entity. FEPC officials could do nothing about segregation in the armed forces; and in the South, federal policy was little more than a legal fiction. In Baltimore, the Maryland State Employment Service systematically discriminated against African Americans who were seeking work. "Even if you had a graduate degree in electronics," remembered Alexander Allen, who worked for the Baltimore Urban League, "you would still be sent to the black entrance (for common labor and unskilled work). And there were police to enforce it."[30]

Detroit was a center of black activism. African American employees at Chrysler's Dodge Division walked out three times during 1941 to protest racial discrimination by both management and the union. The next year, the NAACP organized two busloads of black women job-seekers to occupy the personnel office at Ford's new Willow Run factory. In 1943, three thousand black foundrymen quit work for three days over issues of job discrimination at the River Rouge complex. Shortly thereafter, an integrated crowd of ten thousand, carrying banners proclaiming "Jim Crow Must Go" and "Bullets and Bombs Are Colorblind," marched to Detroit's Cadillac Square. There union and NAACP leaders joined together to declare that "full and equal participation of all citizens is fair, just, and necessary for victory and an enduring peace."[31]

Such assertiveness on the part of African Americans generated white resistance. Southern segregationists like Mississippi's Democratic Senator James Eastland denounced the FEPC as a "Communist program for racial amalgamation." Delta planters feared social revolution once the "darkey will be protected by federal law in his vote in the South." White resistance often exploded in those urban factories and neighborhoods where the two races competed for jobs, housing, and political power. As blacks broke out of their job ghettos and moved into formerly all-white departments, a wave of racist "hate strikes" shut down scores of factories, shipyards, and transit lines.[32]

Black workers were not intimidated, however, and many top trade union officials supported their cause. CIO leaders defended the upgrading of African American workers, even when militant white workers, including many shop stewards and local union officers, were vociferously hostile. On the other hand, many AFL craft unions, especially those in shipbuilding and the machinist trades, established separate, second-class locals into which they relegated thousands of black war workers. On the railroads, the powerful operating brotherhoods continued a bitter, generation-long war against the employment of African American firemen. Even within the world of industrial unionism, separate seniority lines and hiring procedures sustained well-established patterns of racial discrimination.

Nevertheless, by the middle of World War II fair employment and non-discrimination had won a secure place on the political agenda of American labor-liberalism, even if it was not always pushed forward with the vigor demanded by either the NAACP or radical groups like the Communist Party. Thus when three thousand workers shut down a factory in North Canton, Ohio, in 1943 to protest the first African American hires there, the United Electrical Workers sent organizer Henry Fielding to town. North Canton was a "lily-white community," he remembered:

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[30] Lichtenstein et al., *Who Built America?*, 516-17.
[31] Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 (December 1988): 798.
[32] Nan Elizabeth Woodruff, "Mississippi Delta Planters and Debates over Mechanization, Labor, and Civil Rights in the 1940s," *Journal of Southern History* 60 (1994): 263-84.

> There was a mass meeting during working hours, and I took them on . . . a screaming, hysterical audience of three thousand people calling me everything under the sun and threatening me. . . . It took a couple of hours, and although I did not convince the workers that it was right, I did persuade them to go back to work, that there was no alternative.[33]

When hate strikes threatened to disrupt production, union officials could call upon federal officials, and sometimes even federal force, to get white workers back to their jobs. At Packard Motor Company's main plant in Detroit, an indifferent local union and a covertly racist management made the upgrading of black workers difficult and conflict-prone. The Ku Klux Klan probably had a presence in the plant, now swollen with Southern migrants of both races. By June 1943, there already had been scores of racial incidents, but that month 25,000 Packard workers walked off the job for a week after two African Americans were promoted into a formerly all-white grinding machine department. Given the intense factionalism that then divided the UAW, union president R. J. Thomas knew that his insistence that the men return to work would not be enough, so in a pattern that would be repeated again and again, he worked with the WLB to get that government agency to issue a strong back-to-work order. This did the trick, even as Detroit itself exploded in the most costly race riot of World War II.[34]

A year later the same pattern reappeared in an even more explosive situation in Philadelphia. There the employment of African Americans by the local transit company had generated enormous bitterness when the New York-based Transit Workers Union (TWU) campaigned for and won union recognition for thousands of transport workers in one of the nation's most important and congested defense production regions. The FEPC and the War Manpower Commission ordered the city's transit company to promote eight African Americans to positions as streetcar drivers. But the company only reluctantly began hiring African American motormen, even as a large anti-TWU faction organized a massive, successful work stoppage against the upgrading of black employees. With Philadelphia shipyards, textile mills, and radio factories facing paralysis, TWU efforts to end the strike failed, after which President Roosevelt ordered Army troops to take command of the Philadelphia Transit Company and enforce the FEPC orders. Five thousand troops occupied company facilities, strike leaders were fired, and normal service resumed. And the black motormen took their jobs.[35]

Racial violence peaked in 1943, with 250 incidents in forty-seven cities. The worst riot erupted in Detroit, where a fight at the Belle Isle park ignited thirty hours of violence and left nine whites and twenty-five blacks dead and almost seven hundred people seriously injured. Deadly and depressing as they were, the race riots of the 1940s were not like these of World War I and its aftermath, when white mobs burned and shot their way through black neighborhoods. In 1943 and afterwards, African Americans held their ground and fought back. Significantly, and again in great contrast to the era of World War I, black workers held on to their employment gains in the factories and mills. Indeed, the riots in Detroit and elsewhere stopped at the factory gate where production continued to roar ahead.

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[33] Quoted in Lichtenstein et al., *Who Built America?*, 519.
[34] Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW*.
[35] Joshua Freeman, *In Transit: The Transport Workers Union in New York City, 1933-1966* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 255-58.

Strikes, 1943-45

During World War II most American workers were intensely patriotic. But this did not mean that the character of that patriotism and the politics of the war effort were not the subject of contentious debate. Unions, managers, government officials, and consumer advocates continued to fight bitterly over wartime wage and price controls and over housing, urban transportation, medical care, schooling and all those other things that made working life bearable, even enjoyable. These conflicts were fueled by the rising expectations of American workers for dignity and well-being in a war effort that celebrated blue collars and manual work.

Trade unionists, both the top leadership and rank and file workers, had three major grievances. First, unionists did not think that they played a sufficiently influential role in the organization of the war effort. They resented the power of industry executives—the "dollar-a-year men"—who actually ran the War Production Board and the other key mobilization agencies in Washington. Before Pearl Harbor the CIO had put forward an ambitious set of mobilization plans designed to give unions a real voice in wartime planning and manpower policies both in Washington and on the shop floor. The CIO urged the creation of a series of industry councils that would fuse economic and political bargaining—"a program for democratic economic planning and for participation by the people in the key decisions of the big corporations." Industry executives and military procurement officers balked, declaring such schemes tantamount to socialist collectivism. The government did sponsor thousands of Labor-Management Production Committees, but these morale-building units had little real power (although they left behind scores of artful propaganda posters, which are now seen as icons of the presumptive cross-class unity of World War II).[36]

The second major issue involved wages. The relationship between wartime wage increases and inflation was an economic and political problem whose resolution generated much conflict and controversy. By 1943, it was clear that the Little Steel formula did not protect workers' pay packets from rising prices. This was particularly true in the coal industry where an aging workforce and a 20 percent rise in the cost of food in the company-run coal camps put the squeeze on more than 500,000 miners. John L. Lewis had never thought the WLB's Little Steel wage formula an equitable one, and during 1942 and 1943 he came under increasing pressure from dissatisfied miners to obtain pay increases for them. Speaking from UMW headquarters, only a few blocks from the White House, Lewis declared, "Under its arbitrary and miserably stupid formula, [the WLB] chains labor to the wheels of industry without compensation for increased costs, while other agencies of government reward and fatten industry by charging its increased costs to the public purse."[37]

To break the Little Steel formula, Lewis called 500,000 miners out on strike four times in 1943. In an economy dependent on coal for power and heat, these strikes generated a storm of protest. All the major newspapers denounced Lewis, and public opinion polls condemned the strikes. Neither the CIO nor the AFL endorsed these work stoppages; the Communists, who then favored an all-out win-the-war effort, condemned Lewis as something close to a saboteur. In June 1943, Congress passed, over FDR's veto, the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, which gave the President the power to seize mines and factories closed by strikes. The legislation made

[36] Barton Bernstein, "The Automobile Industry and the Coming of the Second World War," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 47 (1966): 24-7; I. F. Stone, *The War Years, 1939-1945* (Boston: Little Brown, 1988), 42-45, 60-64.
[37] As quoted in Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home*, 159.

advocating work stoppages a crime and prohibited unions from making contributions to electoral campaigns. This was the first antiunion measure passed by Congress since the early 1930s, and it foreshadowed the more conservative legislative climate of the postwar years.

But that did not stop Lewis. On November 1, 1943, the miners struck again. Roosevelt seized the coal mines and threatened to end the miners' draft deferments. At the same time, however, FDR understood that "bayonets cannot mine coal" as Lewis always maintained. The President ordered Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes to negotiate a contract acceptable to the miners, even though it punched a big hole through the wartime wage ceiling. Thereafter, all the big unions followed Lewis's lead. Although they did not strike, they openly condemned both the Little Steel formula and what they saw as an increasingly conservative administration of the home front war effort.[38]

Organized labor's most important wartime grievance divided the unions themselves and generated literally thousands of wartime strikes. From the very start of the war, workers clashed with managers and government officials over authority and power on the shop floor itself. Anti-union foremen and managers often took advantage of labor's no-strike pledge to regain some of the power unions had wrested from them during the organizing strikes of the prewar years and the wartime labor shortage. Of course, wartime demands for more and more production generated conflicts over safety, "speed-up," and managerial authority. Edward Osberg, who made airplane engines for Chrysler during the war, remembered that, "whenever engineers and general superintendents devised a new process to make something faster or better, they went ahead and did it. They didn't care if it killed someone or if the fumes and dust were dangerous." As novelist John Dos Passos reported from Detroit early in 1943, "The gist of it was that the men couldn't get over the suspicion that the great automobile concerns were using the war emergency for their own purposes: when it was over they were the ones who would come out on top."[39]

Conflict was therefore endemic in almost every industrial work place. Grievances, complaints, and disputes bubbled up from the daily interaction of workers, foremen, and shop stewards. Workers challenged management over the right to set production standards and piecework rates, assign tasks, and discipline employees. Managers punished and fired workers, often triggering draft notices from the local Selective Service offices. The WLB insisted that every collective bargaining contract include a grievance procedure ending in arbitration by an impartial "umpire." But such dispute-resolution schemes were often overburdened, ineffectual, and slow. Managers thought the procedures an abridgement of their prerogatives. Unionists thought justice delayed was justice denied. As a General Motors unionist in Flint put it, "The company took advantage of this situation. The fact that we had pledged that we would not strike meant that when we went in to negotiate something, a mere 'no' was enough. There was nothing much that we could do about it. We had government agencies, of course, and long drawn-out procedures to seek relief but they were so time consuming and so detailed and very, very difficult."[40]

As a result, workers often resorted to unauthorized "wildcat" strikes. These were most often brief departmental stoppages over a specific grievance or incident, but when workers thought that management had unjustly disciplined a union activist, an entire shift, even an entire factory, might take to the streets. The proportion of all American workers who participated in these brief

[38] Melvyn Dubofsky and Warren Van Tine, *John L. Lewis: A Biography* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1977), 416-20.
[39] John Dos Passos, *State of the Nation* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1943), 48.
[40] As quoted in Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home*, 128.

but frequent wartime strikes quadrupled after 1942, reaching about an eighth of the workforce by the time of the surrender of Japan. Wildcat strikes were centered in the highly integrated mass production rubber and converted automobile factories, where half or more of all workers took part in strikes in 1944 and 1945.

The WLB, top trade union officials, and corporate management denounced such strikes as damaging to the war effort. In fact, lost production time was minuscule. When General Motors announced the restoration of the July 4th holiday in 1944, more hours of production were lost in that 24-hour period than in all the many wildcat strikes that convulsed the auto industry during the war. The strikes were not spontaneous; their leaders were almost always experienced, seasoned trade unionists, many of whom held elective office in their local unions or were natural shop floor leaders. Some were "hate strikes"—working-class consciousness is a mixed bag, after all—but the vast majority were intended to protest what workers saw as management authoritarianism and to reassert union rights.

These wildcat strikes had little effect on production, but were important for their explosive social and political implications. Most participants in the walkouts did not dissent from overall support of the war or even from the no-strike pledge. They put down their tools in defense of a vigorous, democratic unionism and against the myth of a common national interest. In a 1943 UAW convention debate, Nat Ganley, a leading Communist, attacked the wildcat strikers and reaffirmed that "regardless of what reactionary legislation is passed . . . this war . . . still remains a just, progressive war against Fascism." He was answered by Victor Reuther, who declared, "This is a war against . . . all brands of fascists, foreign and domestic." From New York, Thomas DeLorenzo of Brewster Local 365 offered the same perspective in a more extreme form: "The policy of our local union is to win the war without sacrificing too many of the rights which we have at the present time. . . . If I had brothers at the front who needed the 10 or 12 planes that were sacrificed [during a recent strike] I'd let them die, if necessary, to preserve our way of life or rights or whatever you want to call it."[41]

To most leaders of the trade union movement, AFL and CIO alike, such views were embarrassing, even dangerous. They feared that these strikes, whether they were led by John L. Lewis or the local shop steward, would lead to a political backlash, led by a resurgent, anti-union movement based in the South, in the military, and within an increasingly hostile corporate hierarchy. CIO President Philip Murray warned rank and filers that if the no-strike pledge were abrogated, union leaders "would be required to rush to Washington and combat the influence of a powerful anti-labor group." And R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, declared "Public opinion has become inflamed against our union. Our union cannot survive if the nation and our soldiers believe that we are obstructing the war effort."[42]

The War Era Legacy, 1944-45

As the end of World War II approached, Americans' main concern was to sustain the wartime prosperity that had pulled so many out of poverty and fear. In 1944, FDR outlined a "second bill of rights" that included the right to a job, medical care, education, housing, food, clothing, and recreation, and Congress passed the G.I. Bill of Rights to provide returning veterans with access to education and job training. But the transition to a peacetime economy would take place in an atmosphere charged with the fearful memories of an earlier peace: the economic collapse after

[41] Ibid., 154-55.
[42] Quoted in Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home*, 185.

World War I, the bitter labor wars of 1919-23, and the bread lines and Hoovervilles of the Great Depression. The wartime economy had generated millions of new jobs, but what would happen when the defense plants shut down and 12 million G.I.s came home? Could a free market economy successfully reemploy these workers, keep inflation under control, and raise the real incomes of a vastly expanded labor force? Or would the nation need to retain and expand wartime controls over wages, prices, and investment?

Most business leaders wanted to end wartime controls as soon as possible; many wanted to dismantle liberal New Deal programs as well. Unlike their counterparts in continental Europe or Great Britain, who had been tarred with the brush of appeasement or even of collaboration with the Nazis, American business leaders emerged from the war in a strong economic and political position. While their companies had profited handsomely from their alliance with the government, they had little interest in the state-sponsored economic planning and labor-management collaboration they saw in postwar Western Europe. They remained intensely suspicious of the kind of New Deal social engineering favored by organized labor, and wanted to be free of government or union interference in determining wages and prices.

Management's resistance to such governmental "meddling" and government's response to that challenge were famously symbolized by one of the most striking images of the World War II home front. This is the picture of two soldiers, in full battle dress, carrying Montgomery Ward's well-tailored Sewell Avery out of his Chicago headquarters late in 1944. Avery had refused to abide by WLB orders requiring Montgomery Ward to renew a maintenance-of-membership contract with a retail clerks' trade union. The government briefly took over the mail-order house, which had been deemed vital to the war economy. The photo was a sensation because to executives it demonstrated just how powerful the government had become; to workers it asserted, if only tentatively, that the power of a militarized federal government could be enlisted on behalf of some union goals. As Avery was being carried out onto the street, he hurled what was probably the worst insult he could think of at Attorney General Francis Biddle: "You New Dealer, you!"[43]

A reconversion of the wartime economy that protected labor's wartime gains seemed possible as the war wound down. Organized labor had increased its membership by half during the war, to almost 15 million—about a third of the non-farm work force. In 1944 the industrial unions had established a pioneering political action committee that played a role in reelecting Roosevelt to a fourth term. (Ben Shawn's striking posters are among the best-remembered artifacts of this campaign.) As one observer put it, "Union leaders no longer regard themselves as a force merely reacting to managerial decisions . . . but as a force which itself can influence the whole range of industrial economic activity."[44]

The UAW's Walter Reuther embodied this ambition. A trade unionist at ease among both the shop-floor militants of Detroit and the policy-making bureaucrats of Washington, Reuther called on the government to convert taxpayer-financed war plants to the mass production of badly needed housing and railroad equipment. He demanded a 30 percent increase in autoworkers' wages, which would just about make up for the income workers had lost when the postwar workweek shrank to forty hours. But Reuther did not limit his argument to a narrow consideration of wages. A believer in Keynesian economics, he wanted to boost working-class

[43] Aaron Levenstein, *Labor Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1946), 1-12. See also Sanford Jacoby, *Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism since the New Deal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 172-82.
[44] Fraser, *Labor Will Rule*, 495-538 passim.

"purchasing power." He challenged management to keep car prices at prewar levels, in order to stave off an inflationary surge, raise working-class living standards, and win labor support from middle-class consumers. Most strikingly, Reuther also demanded that GM "open the books" to show that its profits and productivity made an inflation-proof wage increase possible.

The growing tensions between labor and management erupted as soon as the war ended. The massive postwar strike wave that began late in the fall of 1945 may well have marked the height of union strength and social solidarity during the 20th century. It was also the final episode in the great cycle of industrial confrontations that began with the railroad strikes of the 1870s and broke out again every decade, reminding the nation of the seemingly insoluble conflict between labor and capital. Certainly, this was one of the last times union workers could claim, with the public's general agreement, that their struggle embodied the hopes and aspirations of all Americans.

PART FOUR:
AFRICAN AMERICANS AND OTHER MINORITIES ON THE HOME FRONT

This Office of War Information photo shows the "industrial melting pot" at the Douglas Aircraft Company's plant in El Segundo, California. Date unknown, 1935-1945. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USW33-028631-C].

PART FOUR:
AFRICAN AMERICANS AND OTHER MINORITIES ON THE HOME FRONT

Harvard Sitkoff

> The 'V for Victory' sign is being displayed prominently in all so-called democratic countries... then let colored Americans adopt the double VV for a double victory. The first V for victory over our enemies from without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within. For surely those who perpetrate these ugly prejudices here are seeking to destroy our democratic form of government just as surely as the Axis forces.
>
> A January 1942 letter to the *Pittsburgh Courier*.[1]

African Americans and their organizations had been promoting equal justice and equal rights as long as they had been in North America, yet for blacks in 1939, as well as for other nonwhites, a huge gap remained between the American dream and the reality of racism in the United States. Three out of four African Americans lived in the South, the poorest inhabitants of the poorest region. Three-quarters of adult blacks had not finished high school. Largely unskilled farmhands, tenant farmers, and domestic servants, they earned 39 percent of what whites made. The Jim Crow system, whose laws required strict separation of the races, was firmly entrenched throughout the South, with disfranchisement and racial inequality enforced by law and custom. Less legally binding but often no less effective, de facto racial discrimination and segregation in the North limited black opportunity and kept African Americans in a separate and unequal status.

The Second World War would challenge the color line on many fronts for most minority groups in the United States. Jim Crow would be wounded, but not killed, by a series of interrelated developments, including (1) the hypocrisy of fighting for freedom abroad while denying it to minorities at home; (2) the equation of racism and Nazism by prominent American liberals; (3) the nation's need for the loyalty and manpower of all its citizens; (4) the massive migration of blacks to urban areas and out of the South; (5) the opening of new opportunities for minorities in industry and the military; (6) heightened expressions of white support for minority rights; (7) shifts in federal policies to lessen racial discrimination; (8) pressures arising from America's new world role; (9) fears that continuing racial violence would hinder the war effort; and, last but hardly least, (10) the growth and militancy of African American groups and institutions, who consciously used the war effort to extract concessions and make gains. All would play a part in altering the status of African Americans and quickening the pace of the struggle for equal rights. If World War II is not quite the "watershed" or "turning point" of "the Negro Revolution" some have claimed it to be, if some wartime gains were quickly lost after the war, and if some of the seeds of change planted during the war did not flower for another decade or so, the Second World War, nevertheless, remains a key era in what was, and is, an ongoing struggle. Wartime changes would make probable the far greater changes to come.[2]

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[1] James G. Thompson, a cafeteria worker at Cessna Aircraft, to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Jan. 31, 1942; quoted in Patrick S. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 55.

[2] Harvard Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," *Journal of American History* 58 (Dec. 1971): 661-81; Richard M. Dalfiume, "The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution," *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968): 90-106; Peter Kellogg, "Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940s," *The Historian* 42 (Nov. 1979): 18-41; and Neil A. Wynn, "The Impact of the Second World War on the American Negro," *Journal of Contemporary History* 6 (1971): 42-53.

But, not at once. Despite their earlier struggles against racism, and their tentative gains during the New Deal, few African Americans benefited from the defense preparedness program when Germany invaded Poland in 1939, triggering the Second World War. As American industry converted to war production, many of the formerly unemployed found factory work, thus decreasing the number of unemployed Americans from 8,120,000 in 1940, to 5,560,000 in 1941, to just 2,660,000 in 1942. Yet, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt put the United States on a war footing, blacks continued to experience twice the rate of unemployment as whites, their median family income barely one-third of that for whites. In 1940, African Americans were just 0.1 percent of all aircraft workers in the country. They were, in the words of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) monthly magazine *Crisis*, "left out in the cold."[3]

Military and Defense Program Discrimination

When the United States Employment Service routinely accepted employers' requests for "whites only," it perpetuated discriminatory patterns that confined blacks to the lowest paying, unskilled jobs, often as janitors. Even six months after Pearl Harbor, half the prospective job openings in war production were reserved for whites only. Hardly just a Southern phenomenon, blacks were barred from 82 percent of the defense jobs in Michigan, 84 percent of them in Ohio, and 94 percent of them in Indiana. Black women, to an even greater extent, were excluded from defense work or any desirable employment: three-fourths still worked as domestic servants or farm laborers in 1940.[4]

The situation in the military services was similarly dire. Although blacks had served valiantly in every conflict from the Revolution to the First World War, the Navy and War Departments systematically discriminated against them. African Americans could not join the Marines or Army Air Corps at all. They could enlist in the Navy only as cooks and mess men to work in the galleys. The 230,000-man peacetime U.S. Army in 1939 had fewer than 4,000 blacks. Just five were officers—three of them chaplains. All served in segregated units under white command, usually in noncombatant roles. Military policies reflected a 1925 Army War College study that claimed that African Americans were "physically unqualified for combat duty." The reasons given were that the black brain weighed ten ounces less than the white brain, that blacks were "subservient" by nature, and that African Americans being "susceptible to the influence of crowd psychology" were unable to control themselves in the face of danger—"He is a rank coward in the dark." Thus, blacks should be kept separate from whites and out of combat units. "The Army is not a sociological laboratory," the generals claimed, and social experiments "are a danger to efficiency, discipline, and morale."[5]

Angry at this exclusion, the NAACP led a drive to make sure that the Selective Service bill being debated by Congress in 1940 prohibited racial discrimination. So did the Committee for the Participation of Negroes in National Defense. Chaired by World War I veteran and black historian Rayford W. Logan of Howard University, it demanded "equal opportunity" and black

[3] Roi Ottley, *New World A-Coming* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 290; "Out in the Cold," *Crisis* XLVII (July 1940): 209.
[4] Andrew E. Kersten, *Race, Jobs, and the War: The FEPC in the Midwest, 1941-46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 37.
[5] Richard M. Dalfiume, *Fighting on Two Fronts: Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces, 1939-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), 2, 39; Doris Kearns Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Homefront in World War II* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 149.

military service "in proportion to their numerical strength in the whole population." Although the Selective Service legislation enacted did include nondiscrimination language, African Americans got little of what they wanted. That same September a warning letter from fifteen black mess men appeared in the *Pittsburgh Courier* "to discourage any other colored boys who might have planned to join the Navy and make the same mistake we did. All they would become is seagoing bellhops, chambermaids and dishwashers."[6]

With plummeting African American morale and rumblings of a possible revolt at the polls in the upcoming elections, Eleanor Roosevelt urged her husband to meet with black leaders and do something to rectify the situation. On September 27, 1940, he met at the White House with T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Walter White, executive director of the NAACP. They demanded that: (1) all officers and enlisted men be assigned on the basis of merit, not race; (2) more black officers be trained; (3) African Americans be allowed to serve in the Army Air Corps; (4) blacks be involved in administering the selective service process; (5) African American women be allowed to serve as nurses; and (6) the military accept personnel without regard to race.[7]

Nodding sympathetically, President Roosevelt promised to look into possible ways of "lessening, if not destroying, discrimination." But he would not risk alienating the powerful Southern wing of the Democratic Party, whose votes for his rearmament and foreign policies he counted on, and his key officials responsible for organizing the massive military mobilization adamantly opposed the changes sought by blacks. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and General George C. Marshall believed desegregation would destroy the morale of American forces. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson considered blacks inferior. "Leadership is not embedded in the negro race yet," he confided in his diary after the White House meeting, "and to try to make commissioned officers to lead men into battle—colored men—is only to work disaster to both." Stimson concluded: "The Negroes are taking advantage of this period just before the election to try to get everything they can in the way of recognition from the Army."[8]

In a typically Rooseveltian compromise, the civil rights leaders secured the appointments of Judge William H. Hastie, the first African American elevated to the federal bench, as an assistant secretary in the War Department; Major Campbell C. Johnson as an assistant to the selective service director; and Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., the highest-ranking black officer, as a brigadier general. Moreover, a new racial policy announced on October 9 indicated that (1) African American strength in the Army would reflect its percentage in the population, then roughly 9 percent; and (2) black combat as well as noncombat units would be organized in every branch of the service, including the formerly all-white Army Air Corps (later renamed the Army Air Forces) and Marines. However, to the chagrin of the civil rights spokesmen, blacks and whites would not be integrated into the same units because, according to the War Department,

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[6] Ulysses Lee, *United States Army in World War II Special Studies: The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1966), 44; Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight* (New York: Free Press, 1986), 136; Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 166. Also see Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Military History, United States Army, 1985).

[7] *Pittsburgh Courier*, Sept. 14, 21, 1940; J. Saunders Redding, "A Negro Looks at This War," *American Mercury* LV (November 1942); Neil A Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1993), 62.

[8] Walter White, *A Man Called White* (New York: Viking, 1948), 186-87; Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops*, 140-41; and Dalfiume, *Fighting on Two Fronts*, 39-42.

that would "produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparation for national defense."[9]

Moreover, not even FDR's quest for the "Negro vote" in 1940 brought change in the racial discrimination rampant in the defense buildup. The aircraft industry employed no blacks. "It is not the policy of this company to employ other than of the Caucasian race" stated California's Vultee Air. "We have not had a Negro working in 25 years and do not plan to start now," Standard Steel informed the Urban League. "Negroes will be considered only as janitors," conceded the general manager of North American Aviation in the spring of 1941. At least eighteen major unions, including such vital participants in the defense industry as the machinists, ironworkers, and railway workers, had explicit bans against African American membership.[10]

But many African Americans would no longer accept such discrimination. They were determined not to repeat the mistake of World War I of putting aside their grievances, what W. E. B. DuBois had called "closing ranks," until the conflict ended. They believed that the war was, in fact, the best possible time to insist on equal rights. And, building on the militant direct-action black protests of the 1930s—the anti-lynching and "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns, the marches and pickets to free the Scottsboro boys—they demanded inclusion in the defense effort. At a protest rally in Chicago, an African American woman suggested sending blacks to Washington, D.C. "from all over the country, in jalopies, in trains, and any way they can get there until we get some action from the White House." A. Philip Randolph, who wanted both the integration of the armed forces and jobs for blacks in the defense industries, heeded the call.[11]

In early 1941, Randolph proposed that 10,000 Negroes march on Washington in July to demonstrate their determination to be included in the defense effort. A charismatic organizer who had founded the largest African American labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in 1925, and had headed the National Negro Congress in the late 1930s, Randolph believed "that Negroes make most fundamental gains in periods of great social upheaval," like wars. "The power and pressure" of the masses, he preached, "are at the foundation of the march of social justice and reform." "The Administration leaders in Washington," he claimed, "will never give the Negro justice until they see masses—ten, twenty, fifty thousand Negroes on the White House lawn." Under the slogan "WE LOYAL NEGRO AMERICAN CITIZENS DEMAND THE RIGHT TO WORK AND FIGHT FOR OUR COUNTRY," Randolph called for a "thundering march" down Pennsylvania Avenue that would "wake up and shock white America as it has never been shocked before." He warned Roosevelt that if the government did not abolish discrimination in the military and in defense jobs the nation would witness "the greatest demonstration of Negro mass power for our economic liberation ever conceived."[12]

Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt both expressed support for the goal of equal opportunity, but opposed the march. They feared it would embarrass the government, disrupt mobilization, and

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[9] White, *A Man Called White*, 187; *Crisis* XLVII (Nov. 1940); and Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops*, 76.
[10] *Crisis* XLVII (July 1940); Robert C. Weaver, "Racial Employment Trends in National Defense," *Phylon* 3 (fourth quarter, 1941): 337-58; and Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 247.
[11] James Boyd, "Strategy for Negroes," *Nation* 156 (June 26, 1943): 884-87; "Negro Women Organize for Unity of Purpose and Action," *Southern Frontier* 4 (Dec.1943): 2; and Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 314-16.
[12] Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), 247-53; and Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, 316-18.

possibly cause violence in Washington. Mrs. Roosevelt called it a "very grave mistake." The White House sent various emissaries to try and persuade Randolph to call off the march. But Randolph refused to back down. Adamant, he inflated his threat. Although he had chartered no buses and made no plans for where thousands of blacks would eat and sleep in the segregated capitol, Randolph publicly claimed that 100,000 blacks would parade in Washington, D.C. in July unless the Roosevelt administration took action against discrimination in the defense program.[13]

Alarmed, Roosevelt finally met personally with Randolph in June and the two agreed to compromise. The President was eager that there be no such march in the midst of a congressional debate on military preparedness, and Randolph needed "something concrete, something tangible" in order to call off the march and retain his credibility. The result was Executive Order 8802. Although it made no mention of the racist policies and practices in the military that Randolph had decried, it declared "that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin." To receive and investigate complaints of discrimination by employers with defense contracts, labor unions, and civilian agencies of the federal government, Roosevelt established the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).[14]

African American Patriotism

Most of the black press greeted the announcement of the executive order as a second Emancipation Proclamation, as an end to "economic slavery." But few favored a continuing emphasis on Randolph's strategy of militant civil disobedience by the masses. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, evoked a widespread wave of patriotism and national purpose. Few Americans, black or white, dissented from a war spirit intensified by media publicity and a government-orchestrated campaign to rally 'round the flag. Support for the war effort placed a premium on loyalty and unity. Even those who wished to protest now had to tread carefully.[15]

Indeed, soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council telegraphed President Roosevelt that all African Americans pledged 100 percent loyalty to the United States. The National Urban League promised total support for the war effort. The Southern Negro Youth Congress raised money for defense bonds, sponsored an Army Welfare Committee to establish a USO Center for Negroes, and created its own Youth V for Victory Committee. W. E. B. DuBois spoke at "Victory Through Unity" conferences. Father Divine donated a hotel to the Navy, and Paul Robeson traveled to training camps to entertain the troops. Dr. Charles Drew, whose research in blood plasma made transfusions possible, proclaimed that the priority of all Americans, "whether black or white, is to get on with the winning of the war" despite the scientifically unwarranted decision of the Red Cross to segregate the blood of black

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[13] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 254-55; Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin: The Story of Their Relationship* (New York: Norton, 1971), 534; and John Salmond, *A Southern Rebel: The Life and Times of Aubrey Willis Williams* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 194-95.

[14] White, *A Man Called White*, 191-92; Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 255-58; Louis Ruchames, *Race, Jobs, and Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), 19-21.

[15] *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Baltimore Afro-American*, *Chicago Defender*, New York *Amsterdam News*, July 5, 1941; and Harvard Sitkoff, "American Blacks in World War II: Rethinking the Militancy-Watershed Hypothesis," in James Titus, ed., *The Home Front and War in the Twentieth Century: The American Experience in Comparative Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1984), 147-55.

and white donors. Joe Louis promised the entire profits of his next two fights to the Army and Navy relief funds. Langston Hughes wrote plays for the War Writers Board and jingles for the Treasury Department. Josh White sang "Are You Ready?" promising to batter the Japanese "batter till his head gets flatter," and Doc Clayton sounded a call for revenge in his "Pearl Harbor Blues." African Americans working in Hollywood formed a Victory Committee, and Richard Wright, who had earlier denounced American involvement in the war, immediately offered his literary services to the government for "the national democratic cause."[16]

The first issues of the Negro press after Pearl Harbor proclaimed in banner headlines "Mr. President, Count on Us," and "The Black Tenth is Ready." The *Norfolk Journal and Guide* called upon African Americans to "close ranks and join with fervent patriotism in this battle for America." "The hour calls for a closing of ranks, for joining of hands, not for a widening of the racial gap" echoed the *Chicago Defender*. The Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, at its first meeting after the entry of the United States into the war, unanimously pledged its unequivocal loyalty to the nation and to the president. And a study of twenty-four Negro newspapers in the first several months of the war found that only three harped on the grievances and complaints of African Americans; the other twenty-one stressed the necessity of racial cooperation to avenge Pearl Harbor and achieve the common goal of both blacks and whites of defeating the United States' foreign enemies. Even the ever-suspicious Federal Bureau of Investigation concluded that, despite pockets of cynicism, African Americans strongly supported, and desired to be part of, the war effort.[17]

Accordingly, many African Americans took up the call of the *Pittsburgh Courier* for a "Double V" campaign. It had originated with a letter to the editor shortly after the American entry into the war from James G. Thompson of Wichita, Kansas. Thompson wanted a campaign against racial discrimination so that he could "take his place on the fighting front for the principles which he so dearly loved." The *Courier* concurred, urging blacks to "fight for the right to fight" against the nation's foes. "Defeat Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito," it pleaded, by "Abolishing Jim Crow." The "Double V" meant never ceasing to emphasize the contradiction between America's professed values and its actual behavior, while loyally serving the nation. Most African Americans agreed, believing that wartime performance would determine postwar status. Opposing the war effort, or sitting on the sidelines, stated the *Courier*, would be the wrong course for blacks to follow. Serve now, receive rewards later. "The more we put in," argued columnist J. A. Rogers, "the more we have a right to claim." At a time when the influence of the Negro press was at its height, when its circulation had zoomed from some 600,000 in 1933 to 1.3 million in 1940, to its all-time high of 1.9 million in 1945, reaching every nook and cranny in the South as well as the North, the Association of African American publishers bragged: "The most significant achievement of the Negro press during this crisis, in our estimation, lies in the fact

[16] Saunders Redding, "A Negro Looks at War," *American Mercury* (Nov. 1942), 585-92; Edgar T. Rouzeau to Franklin Roosevelt, Feb. 24, 1942, OF 93, Roosevelt Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; Lee Finkle, *Forum for Protest: The Black Press During World War II* (Rutherford, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1975), 113-14, 205; Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe, Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 218; *New York Times*, Dec. 8, 10, 14, 1941; Byron R. Skinner, "The 'Double V': The Impact of World War II on Black America" (Ph.D. diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1978), 30-31; and Richard Wright to Archibald MacLeish, Dec. 21, 1941, Office of Facts and Figures, RG 208, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Also see Thomas Sancton, "The Negro Press," *New Republic*, April 26, 1943, 560.

[17] Ernest Johnson, "The Negro Press Reacts to War," *Interracial Review*, 15.

that the Negro newspapers have brought home to the Negro people of America that this is their war and not merely 'a white man's war.'"[18]

However much the great majority of African Americans desired the end of racial discrimination and segregation in American life, only a tiny minority thought that their fight for rights should take precedence over defeating Germany and Japan, and few flirted with militant protests that might be considered harmful to the war effort. A. Philip Randolph's March-on-Washington Movement gradually withered away after Pearl Harbor. Public opinion polls in the Negro press during 1942 revealed a steady diminution of black support for a March on Washington to demand a redress of grievances. When Randolph called for mass marches on city halls and defense plants in 1942 to exact "the right to work and fight for our country," no blacks marched. When he called for a week of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation to protest Jim Crow schools and transportation systems in 1943, no blacks engaged in such activities. And when he called upon the masses to come to his "We Are Americans, Too!" conference in Chicago in the summer of 1943, no major African American spokesperson and hardly any blacks attended. By then, as Randolph admitted, the March-on-Washington Movement was "without funds" and unable to continue. Penning the moribund March-on-Washington Movement's epitaph in 1945, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. described it as an "organization with a name that it does not live up to, an announced program that it does not stick to, and a philosophy contrary to the mood of the times."[19]

Employment

The FEPC fared barely better. While the employment of African Americans in shipyards in the FEPC's first year rose from 6,000 to 14,000, and the number of blacks in the aircraft industry from zero to 5,000, in the main, progress came slowly. A radical departure from decades of official support for legalized racism, the FEPC faced many obstacles and entrenched opponents. Always underfunded and understaffed and lacking strong presidential support, it was shunted by the Office of Production Management, the War Production Board, the War Manpower Commission, and the Executive Office of the President. A temporary war agency, it could act only in response to formal complaints. Even then, it could investigate and report, but possessed no authority to enforce its recommendations. With the Roosevelt Administration and the nation far more concerned with defense production than with racial equality, the FEPC had to rely on publicity and moral persuasion to produce changes: it could not close down industries that defied it—as many railroads, shipyards, and factories in the South did. Not surprisingly, the FEPC successfully resolved just about one-third of the more than 12,000 complaints it received, and employers or unions ignored or defied 35 of the 45 compliance orders the committee issued.[20]

The government would only act forcefully for racial equality when that goal furthered the war effort. This was the case in Philadelphia in the summer of 1944. The FEPC had directed that a

[18] Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*, 38-39, 54-56, 108; and Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 259-60.
[19] Ellen Tarry, *The Third Door: The Autobiography of an American Negro Woman* (New York: D. McKay Co., 1955), 193; Rayford Logan, ed., *What the Negro Wants* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 148; Louis Kesselman, *The Social Politics of FEPC: A Study in Reform Pressure Movements* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 222; and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., *Marching Blacks* (New York: Dial Press, 1945), 159.
[20] Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (New York: Lippincott, 1972), 116-23; Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War*, 48-59; and Daniel Kryder, *Divided Arsenal, Race and the American State During World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 113-32.

small number of blacks be upgraded to positions as streetcar operators. In response, white public transportation workers went on strike, paralyzing the city. With needed war production halted, the FBI arrested strike leaders and the Selective Service threatened to draft employees who did not return to work. The strike ended and the African Americans assumed their new, upgraded, positions.[21]

The FEPC's main value proved to be primarily as a precedent and symbol for federal action in civil rights. Executive Order 8802 was the first concrete federal action on behalf of black rights since the Civil Rights Act of 1875, and it had been obtained from a reluctant president, as Randolph predicted, only by "pressure, more pressure, and still more pressure." Its powers mainly exhortatory, the FEPC exposed prejudices in various industries, publicized the issue of equal employment, and emphasized the necessity of ending racial discrimination. It educated Americans about the harm done by racism in the public hearings it held, the leaflets and posters it distributed, and the press statements it issued. It became a model for states and for a permanent FEPC. It did get the U.S. Employment Service to stop honoring requests that specified race, the National Labor Relations Board to cease certifying as collective bargaining agents any unions that excluded minorities, and the War Labor Board to outlaw the practice of paying different wages to whites and nonwhites doing the same job. Although such changes could be, and often were, ignored by those who wished to see little progress for African Americans, doors to the workplace gradually opened.[22]

The push came mostly from the crisis of war, rather than the FEPC. The combination of booming war production and a labor supply depleted by the military draft increased the number of blacks employed by industry from some 500,000 in 1940 to more than 1.5 million in 1945. The number of unemployed blacks dropped from 937,000 to 151,000. More than 100,000 went to work in the iron and steel industries. Another 200,000 African Americans found employment in the federal civil service. Moreover, while approximately 90 percent of the blacks working for the federal government in 1938 were custodians, and less then 10 percent held clerical-administrative jobs, in 1944 less than 40 percent were classified as custodial and nearly 50 percent were in clerical-administrative positions.[23]

Some 400,000 black women left their work as maids and domestics for better jobs. Tens of thousands of them earned good money in foundries and shipyards, helping to raise the average income of black families to half that of white families. As historian Karen Anderson reminds us, despite the barriers that remained, many African American women rejoiced that "Hitler was the one that got us out of the white folks' kitchens." This so upset their former employers that rumors of servants joining "Eleanor [Roosevelt] Clubs" flourished. Although no such organizations existed, many a white woman believed that these secret clubs were a plot to force

[21] Allan M. Winkler, "The Philadelphia Transit Strike of 1944," *Journal of American History* LIX (1972): 73-89.
[22] Merl E. Reed, *Seedtime for the Modern Civil Rights Movement: The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice 1941-1946* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1991), especially 345-57; James A. Neuchterlein, "The Politics of Civil Rights: The FEPC, 1941-1946," *Prologue* 10 (1978): 171-91; and Kryder, *Divided Arsenal*, 131, 256-57.
[23] Jesse Parkhurst Guzman, ed., *Negro Year Book: A Review of Events Affecting Negro Life, 1941-1946* (Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute, 1947), 141; Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 370; William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers since the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 113-22; and Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War*, 55-59.

them into the kitchen or to make them admit their servants through the front door and call them "Mrs." instead of their first name.[24]

Overall, the proportion of blacks in war production work rose from 3 percent in 1942, to 6.4 percent in 1943, to 8.6 percent in 1945. Black employment in manufacturing increased 135 percent. African American membership in labor unions more than doubled, from 600,000 in 1940, to 1.25 million by the war's end, and the number of skilled and semiskilled black workers almost tripled. Robert Weaver described the changes as "more industrial and occupational diversification for negroes than had occurred in the 75 preceding years." The average wage for African Americans during the war increased from $457 to $1,976 a year, compared to a gain from $1,064 to $2,600 for white workers, considerably narrowing the racial gap in earnings. By 1950, annual wages for black males were 55 percent of those of white workers; in 1940 they had been just 42 percent. In addition, the percentage of black families living in poverty dropped from 75 to 57 percent during the war.[25]

The war thus brought advancement for African Americans, but hardly racial equality. Thirteen national trade unions continued to exclude blacks totally; some admitted only a token number while continuing to practice racial discrimination; and many others segregated them. Most of the government and defense jobs opened to African Americans remained positions at entry levels, the "hard, hot, and heavy" tasks, and attempts to upgrade black employees frequently led to threats of strikes and walk-outs by white workers. With little power and a minuscule budget, the FEPC could only exhort and hope for compliance, or plead for an end to discrimination in employment. Which is what the president did in his 1942 State of the Union Address—"We must be particularly vigilant against racial discrimination in any of its ugly forms"—and then in a radio address in October 1942, referring to employers "reluctant to hire Negroes. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices or practices." But they persisted. As late as 1944, little more than 40 percent of the whites polled professed to believe that "Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job."[26]

Armed Service Units

Even fewer favored changing the separate and unequal status of African Americans in the armed services. The number of blacks in the Army rose from 98,000 in late 1941, to 468,000 in late 1942, to 700,000 in 1944. Nearly a million African American men and women would serve in the armed forces by the end of the Second World War. Few escaped racist policies and/or

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[24] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 254; Paul R. Spickard, "Work and Hope: African American Women in Southern California during World War II," *Journal of the West* (July 1993), 70-79; Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War*, 55; and Howard Odum, *Race and Rumors of Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), esp. 96-101, 113-28.

[25] Gerald D. Jaynes and Robin M. Williams, Jr., *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1989), 295; Smith and Welch, *Closing the Gap*, 103; Robert H. Ziegler, *American Workers, American Unions, 1920-1985* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 82; Robert Weaver, *Negro Labor: A National Problem* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1946), 79-80; Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 96; and Harold Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 127-134.

[26] Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 188-89, Michael S. Sherry, *In the Shadow of War: The United States Since the 1930s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 101, Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," *Scientific American* 195 (December 1956): 36-37. Also see Michael Botson, "No Gold Watch for Jim Crow's Retirement: The Abolition of Segregated Unionism at Houston's Hughes Tool Company," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 51 (April 1998): 497-522.

practices. Partly due to countries like Australia that requested the War Department not send African Americans there so as not to upset local whites, over half the black G.I.s remained stationed in the United States. Most were confined to the Corps of Engineers or the Quartermaster Corps.[27]

At the same time, Benjamin O. Davis became the first black brigadier general, the number of African American officers rose from 5 to over 7,000, an increasing number of blacks were trained for combat positions, and the all-black 761st Tank Battalion, that trained at Fort Hood, Texas, gained distinction at the Battle of the Bulge and other critical engagements. On the front line more than any other armored unit, it fought nonstop from October 31, 1944 to May 6, 1945, spearheaded the infantry advances in six European countries and suffered a 50 percent casualty rate. More than 600 blacks in the 92nd Division, based at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, won combat medals for their bravery in North Africa and Italy. The Army gradually trained African Americans as pilots and the 99th Pursuit Squadron (the "Tuskegee Airmen") won eighty Distinguished Flying Crosses for its combat against the *Luftwaffe*. The 332nd Fighter Group led by Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., flew more combat missions than any other unit in Europe, won three Distinguished Unit Citations, one hundred and fifty Distinguished Flying Crosses, a Silver Star, a Legion of Merit, and fourteen Bronze Stars among others. The Navy opened the Marines and Coast Guard to African Americans, as did the WACs and WAVES. In 1944, both the Army and Navy began experiments to integrate their training facilities and ships. Manpower shortages even forced the Army during the Battle of the Bulge to integrate a limited number of black platoons into formerly all-white rifle companies. The War Department praised them as "no less courageous or aggressive than their white comrades." Whenever and wherever offered the opportunity, African Americans proved they could do the job. Tens of thousands of blacks experienced a taste of life with little or no prejudice in places like France and Hawaii.[28]

The great mass of African Americans, however, served throughout the war in segregated service units commanded by white officers. They built bridges and roads, constructed airfields, washed dishes and did laundry, loaded and unloaded ships, and encountered frequent racial prejudice. Military policy, explained General Lewis Hershey, "is simply transferring discrimination from everyday life into the Army." Thus, African Americans were denied regular military privileges and facilities, housed in separate, inferior quarters and given separate, inferior training, court-martialed at an excessive rate, and punished with "less than honorable" discharges.[29]

For much of the war, post exchanges and USOs barred or discriminated against blacks. Signs affixed to military chapels proclaimed separate worship for "Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and Negroes." The Red Cross segregated "white" and "colored" bottles of blood plasma, even though, ironically, the black scientist Dr. Charles Drew, had perfected the process of preserving blood plasma. Restaurants in Salinas, Kansas, allowed German prisoners of war to eat at their

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[27] Philip McGuire, *He, Too, Spoke for Democracy: Judge Hastie, World War II, and the Black Soldier* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988). Also see Maggi M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

[28] Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops*, chap. 22; and Sherie Mershon and Steven Schlossman, *Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the Armed Forces* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 105-14, 142-43.

[29] Lucille B. Milner, "Jim Crow in the Army," *New Republic*, CX (March 13, 1944): 339; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 419-21; and Samuel A. Stouffer et al., *The American Soldier: Adjustment to Army Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 493-98. Also see Charles Fuller, *A Soldier's Play: A Drama* (New York: French, 1981), later made into the film *A Soldier's Story*.

lunch counters, yet refused to serve African American soldiers in uniform. And despite proven battlefield valor, no African Americans were awarded Medals of Honor in World War II, as none had been in World War I.[30]

Not till mid-1943 did the War Department officially ban segregation in military recreational facilities "including theaters and post exchanges" and forbid the use of "White" and "Colored Only" signs. Not for another year did it order that all transportation owned or operated by the government "will be available to all military personnel regardless of race," and that "restricting personnel to certain sections of such transportation because of race will not be permitted either on or off a post, camp, or station, regardless of local civilian custom."[31]

But, the majority of Army training camps were in the South and local townsfolk, much like the *Montgomery Advertiser*, maintained that "Army orders, even armies, even bayonets, cannot force impossible and unnatural social race relations upon us." Some commanding officers simply disregarded the order, and sheriffs persecuted black G.I.s who demanded equality of treatment. Black soldiers protested, resisted, and often fought back. The failure of military authorities to protect black servicemen off the post, and the use of white military police to keep African Americans "in their place" sparked conflict and clashes on many Army bases in the South and overseas. Serious riots plagued Camp Robinson in Arkansas, both Fort Bragg and Camp Davis in North Carolina, Camp Lee in Virginia, and Fort Dix in New Jersey, as well as the Bamber Bridge encampment of American troops in Lancashire, England. At least fifty black soldiers died in racial brawls during the war.[32]

Racial Violence

The racial violence within the military mirrored the growing racial tension in the United States. The combination of some improvement in their status with daily reminders of ongoing discrimination spawned increasing African American anger and assertiveness. Rising expectations and dashed hopes brought mounting frustration and aggressive black protest. Outrage, long suppressed, found new voices. "Our war is not against Hitler in Europe, but against the Hitlers in America," a black columnist proclaimed. Some blacks expressed admiration for the Japanese, seeing them as enemies of white colonialism and imperialism. Others repeated the epitaph attributed to a black draftee: "Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the glory of a white man." As African Americans pressed their campaigns for racial justice, many whites stiffened their resistance to any changes in blacks' economic and social status. Numerous racial clashes occurred, and in mid-1943, forty-seven cities reported pitched battles between whites and blacks. A race riot broke out in the Harlem section of New York City after a white policeman shot a black soldier. It claimed six lives. At the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding Company in Mobile, Alabama, white employees angered at the appointment of the yard's first black welders went on a rampage, chanting "No nigger is goin' to join iron in these yards." Fifty African Americans were injured. In Beaumont, Texas, following

[30] Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 421-23.
[31] Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops*, 307-08; Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 422.
[32] Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," 668-69; James A. Burran, "Racial Violence in the South During World War II" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1977), 64, 129-160; Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops*, 348-79. Rumors and/or incidents of racial violence are reported in "Racial Tension Files," Fair Employment Practices Committee, RG 228 and "Reports on Recent Factors Increasing Negro-White Tension," Special Services Division, Bureau of Intelligence, Office of War Information, RG 44, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

rumors that their jobs would be given to blacks, some 3,000 white workers in a naval shipyard torched the African American ghetto, killing two blacks and wounding seventy-three.[33]

The nearly 50,000 African Americans who migrated to Detroit, the nation's leading industrial city, met constant discrimination and frustration. They had difficulty in getting hired for the newly created war jobs, in getting promoted, and in finding decent housing. Most of the city's blacks were forced to crowd together in Paradise Valley, a black slum, where rents were high, housing substandard, and recreational facilities almost impossible to find. Recent Southern white migrants and local ethnic groups, particularly Polish Americans and Irish Americans, most of whom were themselves living in overcrowded, overpriced apartments, resented the black newcomers, who, they believed, were causing the rapid deterioration of "their" city and did not deserve priority in federal housing projects. Throwing bricks, burning crosses, overturning moving vans, Polish Americans protested violently when a federally-financed housing project being built in "their" neighborhood was designated for African American defense workers in early 1942. Only the presence of hundreds of state troops with fixed bayonets allowed black tenants to move into the spaces assigned to them in the Sojourner Truth Housing Project—named for the former slave and famous abolitionist.[34]

An African American family poses in front of the Sojourner Truth homes in Detroit, Michigan. February 1942. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USW3-016280-C].

Police arrest an African American during the riot at the Sojourner Truth homes caused by white neighbors' attempts to prevent black tenants from moving in. February 1942. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USW3-016547-C].

The racial beatings, shootings, burning, and looting in Detroit in June 1943 symbolized the rawness of American race relations. Just a spark was necessary to ignite hostilities, and not surprisingly, that spark flared on a hot, sweltering Sunday in June, when whites started to stone a black boy who had mistakenly drifted into the white swimming area in Belle Isle Park, an island in the Detroit River. Quickly rumors of murderous attacks by each race on the other spread throughout the city; thousands of Detroiters poured into the streets bent on vengeance. Bands of whites attacked innocent black passengers on streetcars and buses, while African Americans

[33] *Chicago Defender* and *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 5, 26, July 17, Aug. 7, 14, 21, 1943; *Crisis* 50 (July 1943): 199; and Dominic J. Capeci, Jr., *The Harlem Riot of 1943* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977).
[34] William J. Norton, "The Detroit Riots—and After," *Survey Graphic* 32 (Aug. 1943): 317-18; and Dominic J. Capeci, Jr., *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit: The Sojourner Truth Housing Controversy of 1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984).

ganged up on unsuspecting white motorists and pedestrians near the black ghetto. Looting and burning flared. Violence swept the city for thirty hours until the arrival of six thousand federal troops and the imposition of a curfew ended the bloodshed. By then, more than $2 million worth of property had been destroyed, nearly a thousand people had been injured, and twenty-five blacks and nine whites had lost their lives in the bloodiest racial clash since the Chicago riot of 1919.[35]

A saddened Langston Hughes would write:

> Look here, America
> What you have done—
> Let things drift
> Until the riots come
>
> Yet you say we're fighting
> For democracy.
> Then why don't democracy
> Include me?
>
> I ask you this question
> Cause I want to know
> How long I got to fight
> BOTH HITLER—AND JIM CROW[36]

Yet the war brought revolutionary changes that would eventually result in a successful drive for civil rights and first-class citizenship. Over a million African Americans served in the armed forces. A majority of them came from the plantations and small towns of the South. Service outside of Dixie, and outside the country, gave many a lasting taste of fair treatment. So did serving with their northern brethren, who usually had higher expectations of equality and repudiated Jim Crow more vocally and insistently. Despite continuities of racism, military service gave many blacks a greater sense of self-respect. It provided even more with training, education, and new skills. Not surprisingly, 41 percent of blacks in the military, compared to 25 percent of whites, expected to be better off as a result of their service. The same percentage of African Americans also expected to possess more rights and privileges. No longer as fatalistic as they had been, African American veterans were twice as likely to move to another region after the war as were other black men.[37]

Migration

These veterans would join the nearly one million African Americans who, with job opportunities as the pull and the disintegration of sharecropping as the push, boarded trains and buses to migrate from the rural South to the factories of the North, Midwest, West, and urban South

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[35] Harvard Sitkoff, "The Detroit Race Riot of 1943," *Michigan History* 53 (Fall 1969): 183-206.
[36] Langston Hughes, “Beaumont to Detroit: 1943,” *Common Ground* (Autumn 1943), 104.
[37] Stouffer, *The American Soldier*, 515, 520, 528; John Modell, Marc Goulden, and Sigurder Magnusson, "World War II in the Lives of Black Americans: Some Findings and an Interpretation," *Journal of American History* 76 (December 1989): 845; Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America During World War II*, 2nd ed. (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2000), 67. Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War*, 62.

during the war. Most settled in the cities of California, Illinois, Michigan, and New York, where they could earn seven times as much as they had in Mississippi. At the peak of the migration, nearly 400 African Americans arrived in Los Angeles each day. By war's end, New York City's black population exceeded that of Arkansas, Florida, and Tennessee. Chicago had twice as many African Americans as any city in the South.[38]

More than one-third of all the young African Americans in the Deep South left for the North in the 1940s. For the South as a whole, 26 percent of blacks aged twenty to twenty-four headed north. This mass exodus transformed what had been considered *only* a Southern problem into a national concern. It created a new attitude of independence in African Americans freed from the stifling constraints of the rigid caste structure enforced in small rural southern communities. Migration and urbanization brought greater psychological space, more opportunity to talk freely, a heightened sense of what could be done to achieve a better life. The high concentration of African Americans in a handful of metropolitan areas also provided a new sense of power, and catalyzed increasing hopes for true racial equality. The greater educational and employment opportunities available in northern cities engendered further hopefulness, as did the improvements in housing and health care that lowered black mortality rates sharply.[39]

Nearly 90 percent of the black migrants settled in the seven states with the largest number of electoral votes. These states possessed almost three-quarters of the electoral votes needed to win a presidential election, and were all closely balanced politically. Even the backing of a small voting bloc could be decisive. So African Americans in the North suddenly found themselves being courted by politicians of both major parties. Because black voters were seen as holding the “balance of power” in close elections, northern urban politicians increasingly offered recognition and favors in return for the votes of African Americans. This situation also prompted both Republican and Democratic national leaders to endorse civil rights legislation, particularly the establishment of a permanent FEPC and the elimination of restrictions on the ballot. Even in the South, the migration of blacks into southern cities spurred political participation. While less than 100,000 had voted in the 1940 elections, nearly 600,000 would be registered to vote by 1947, and in 1952 more than a million southern blacks would be registered.[40]

Racism and Democracy

A greater degree of African American optimistic determination also flowed from the new prominence of the United States as a major power in a predominantly nonwhite world. For the first time, white Americans had to confront the peril that racism posed to their national security. White supremacist attitudes became an impediment to needed national unity. Thurgood Marshall, the chief counsel for the NAACP, compared the white rioters in Detroit to "the Nazi Gestapo.” Racism was branded an alien ideology, and most American newspapers deplored the race riots as a victory for Hitler. They highlighted the extent to which Japanese propaganda

[38] Jack M. Bloom, *Class, Race, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 66-73.
[39] Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 852; and Kryder, *Divided Arsenal*, 249-53.
[40] Douglas McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 80; Earl Black and Merle Black, *Politics and Society in the South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 85; and Karen J. Ferguson, “The Politics of Inclusion: Black Activism in Atlanta during the Roosevelt Era, 1932-1946,” Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1996. Also see Ottley, *New World A-Coming*. The seven states were California, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

addressed to the peoples of Asia and Latin America emphasized the United States as a place of lynchings and racist brutality. Radio Tokyo had broadcast to Asia:

> It is a singular fact that supposedly civilized Americans in these times deny the Negroes the opportunity to engage in respectable jobs, the right of access to restaurants, theaters or the same train accommodations as themselves, and periodically will run amuck to lynch Negroes individually or to slaughter them wholesale—old men, women, and children alike—in race wars like the present one.

Many white Americans recognized the truth of that statement, and its propaganda effectiveness.[41]

The horrors of Nazi racism also made Americans more sensitive to the harm caused by their own white supremacist attitudes and practices. The frequent comparisons of Hitler's treatment of the Jews with the white South's behavior toward African Americans undermined American racism. Much was made of the fact that Nazism was a philosophy based on the idea of racial inequality, and nothing illustrated the horrifying ultimate consequences of racism more than the 1945 newsreels of Nazi concentration camps. As a former governor of Alabama complained, "The Huns have wrecked the theories of the master race with which we were so contented so long."[42]

Responding to such changes, local NAACP chapters tripled in number, and national membership multiplied nearly ten times, reaching half a million in 1945. While continuing to press for congressional enactment of anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation, the NAACP also fought against racial discrimination in defense industries and in the armed forces, and sought courtroom victories to end black disfranchisement. Its campaign for black voting rights gained significant momentum when the Supreme Court, in *Smith* v. *Allwright* (1944), ruled Texas's all-white primary unconstitutional. Because the primary was an integral part of the electoral process, the Court held, blacks were entitled to the protection of the Fifteenth Amendment, which sheltered their right to vote from racial discrimination. The decision signaled a greater willingness on the part of the Court to interpret expansively the constitutional guarantees extended to African Americans by the Civil War Amendments. It energized the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP to extend its courtroom offensive against still other Jim Crow targets.[43]

Some African Americans, and whites, attracted to the strategy of nonviolent direct action as the way to overcome Jim Crow, joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Founded in Chicago in 1942, CORE employed the same spirit and form of direct action that Mohandas Gandhi used in his struggle for India's independence. It staged sit-ins to eliminate segregation in restaurants, theaters, and other public accommodations in Chicago, Denver, and Detroit, and its successes inspired others to employ direct action to end racial discrimination. In Washington, D.C., an interracial group of students sat-in at restaurants and picketed against segregation.

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[41] Philip A. Klinker, with Rogers M. Smith, *The Unsteady March* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 182; and Pearl Buck, *American Unity and Asia* (New York: John Day Co., 1942), 29. Also see Frank Furedi, *The Silent War: Imperialism and the Changing Perception of Race* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998).
[42] Roy Wilkins, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (New York: Viking, 1982), 176-84.
[43] Steven F. Lawson, *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 39-46, 115-17, 133-37; William Hastie, "Appraisal of *Smith* v. *Allwright*," *Lawyers' Guild Review* 5 (March-April 1945): 66-67; Rudolf Heberle, "Social Consequences of the Industrialization of Southern Cities," *Social Forces* 27 (Oct. 1948): 36; and Hylan Lewis, "Innovations and Trends in the Contemporary Negro Community," *Journal of Social Issues* X (1954): 22-24. Also see Catherine Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow: The Desegregation of Southern Transit* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

Their placards stated: "We die together. Let's eat together" and "Are you for Hitler's Way or the American Way?"[44]

Perhaps most significantly, the wartime changes also diminished the caution of Southern blacks. Meeting at the North Carolina College for Negroes (now North Carolina Central University), in Durham, North Carolina, in late 1942, the most prominent African Americans in the South publicly demanded racial equality. A few years earlier such a declaration would have been inconceivable. In 1944, these Southern blacks joined with liberal Southern whites to establish the Southern Regional Council. That same year, their counterparts in the North established the biracial American Council on Race Relations. It would help coordinate the more than two hundred local and state race relations committees that had been established in the wake of the 1943 racial violence. Although many of these committees accomplished little, their creation reflected a shift in white attitudes, especially those of liberals, who were moving from a preoccupation with New Deal economic reforms to a concern for "rights," in no small part because racism—"Hitler's work"—was being seen as harmful to the war effort.[45]

A white journalist described race as "the weakest point in our domestic battle-front. . . . If we want to produce and fight efficiently and to command the respect and affection of our Allies in Asia and Latin America, we must show our good will by our fair treatment of our racial minorities." "A malignant growth in a democracy," wrote another, terming racism "stultifying, costly, stupid, and self-perpetuating." The notion that racism hindered the war effort was widespread. So was the belief that America's racial hypocrisies tarnished its international image. "Our very proclamations of what we are fighting for have rendered our own inequities self-evident," wrote Wendell Willkie, the Republican presidential candidate in 1940, in his *One World*. "When we talk of freedom and opportunity for all nations the mocking paradoxes in our own society become so clear they can no longer be ignored." Selling an amazing one million copies in two months in 1943, and appearing in many condensed and digested forms as well, *One World* denounced the many forms of "race imperialism" practiced by white Americans. Willkie warned of the adverse consequences for the peace and security of the United States if it continued its mistreatment of African Americans, insisting that the nonwhite majority of the world would judge the United States on the basis of its racial practices.[46]

The most acclaimed commentary on race and racism came from a Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal. His monumental *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, published in January 1944, cast American race relations in the context of the struggle against fascism. It emphasized that racial inequality contradicted America's democratic creed—"liberty,

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[44] Roger Hansen, "Pioneers in Nonviolent Action," *Queen City Heritage* 52 (Fall 1994): 23-35; and Jaynes and Williams, *Common Destiny*, 63.

[45] Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 256-60; Raymond Gavins, *The Perils and Prospects of Southern Black Leadership: Gordon Blaine Hancock, 1884-1970* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1977), 117-19; Benjamin Mays, *Born to Rebel; An Autobiography* (New York: Scribner, 1971), 218; Morton Sosna, *In Search of the Silent South: Southern Liberals and the Race Issue* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 7-9,105-20, 166; Johnson, *To Stem This Tide*, 140-42; Robert C. Weaver, "Whither Northern Race Relations Committees?" *Phylon* V (third quarter, 1944): 205-18; and Edwin R. Embree, "Balance Sheet in Race Relations," *Atlantic Monthly* (May 1945), 87-91.

[46] Selden Menefee, *Assignment U.S.A.* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1943), 147-48; Carey McWilliams, *Brothers Under the Skin* (Boston: Little Brown, 1943), 298; Wendell L. Willkie, *One World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943), 79; and Harvard Sitkoff, "Willkie as Liberal: Civil Liberties & Civil Rights," in James H. Madison, ed., *Wendell Willkie* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), especially 80-86.

equality, justice, and fair opportunity for everybody"—and weakened the United States both militarily and ideologically in the war against Axis dictatorships: "any and all concessions to Negro rights in this phase of the history of the world will repay the nation many times, while any and all injustices inflicted upon them will be extremely costly." For its national security the United States "needs to demonstrate to the world that American Negroes can be satisfactorily integrated into its democracy." To that end, with all the imprimatur of social science, and the sponsorship of the Carnegie Corporation, Myrdal devoted much of his fifteen hundred pages to showing that white racism, and not any biological, innate inferiority, had produced African American inequality. Discrimination forced blacks into lowly social positions, which, in turn, confirmed the prejudicial belief in African American inferiority and reinforced resistance to change. But, Myrdal maintained, this self-reinforcing cycle of discrimination, behavior, and prejudice could be reversed by proper social engineering. Increasing opportunities for blacks would improve their social standing and diminish white prejudice, and thereby create opportunities for further gain. America, he concluded, "is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity."[47]

The cumulative effect of such missives, greater racial consciousness, stronger civil rights organizations, and more assertive race leaders, like Harlem's Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who won a seat in Congress in 1944, left no facet of American racism safe from attack. And some racial barriers tumbled. An African American journalist was admitted to presidential press conferences for the first time. The American Bar Association ended its policy of racial discrimination and admitted its first black members in the 20th century. The Daughters of the American Revolution, which had barred black Marian Anderson from singing in its Constitution Hall in 1939, relented, and in 1943 Anderson gave a concert on behalf of war relief there, to an integrated audience. At least some white Americans were responding to Eleanor Roosevelt's concern that the "nation cannot expect colored people to feel that the United States is worth defending if the Negro continues to be treated as he is now."[48]

Congress, too, entered the fray. Southern conservatives viewed the abolition of the poll tax as a critical step in the direction of ending the white monopoly of political power, and had successfully stymied congressional legislation prior to Pearl Harbor. But in the midst of war, when Congress took up the Soldier Vote Bill of 1942, which waived the payment of poll taxes for those on active duty, the southerners chose not to filibuster and be portrayed as depriving men fighting for their country of the right to vote. Passage of the law provided the first legislative expansion of black voting rights, however slight, since the 1870s. That same year, the House of Representatives overwhelmingly approved a bill to eliminate all poll taxes in federal elections, although the bill was ultimately killed by a Senate filibuster.[49]

At the same time, the Justice Department, no longer claiming that lynching was merely a local concern, became directly involved in a lynching case for the very first time. The Attorney

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[47] Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, especially 999-1016. Two excellent analyses of Myrdal's influence are David W. Southern, *Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations: The Use and Abuse of An American Dilemma, 1944-1969* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), and Walter A. Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience, Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism, 1938-1987* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

[48] McWilliams, *Brothers Under the Skin*, 4; Dalfiume, "The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution," 90-91; and Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War*, 99-108, 121.

[49] Lawson, *Black Ballots*, 61-71. Also see Frederic D. Ogden, *The Poll Tax in the South* (Tuskegee: University of Alabama Press, 1958).

General ordered the Department's Civil Rights Section and the FBI to investigate the 1942 lynching of Cleo Wright in Sikeston, Missouri, and then sought indictments in the federal court in St. Louis for the lynchers and the local police who failed to protect Wright. Later that year, President Roosevelt ordered the Justice Department to investigate all suspected lynchings, bringing the federal government more directly into the struggle for racial justice than at any time since Reconstruction.[50]

To do its part, Hollywood produced such films as *The Ox-Bow Incident* and *In This Our Life*, taking on the issue of lynching and replacing the demeaning Sambo stereotypes of the 1930s with serious portrayals of blacks as intelligent, courageous Americans struggling against discrimination. *Sahara*, *Lifeboat*, *Bataan*, and *Casablanca* featured dignified and heroic black soldiers and civilians. *Crash Dive* was based on the black mess man Doris (Dorie) Miller's heroism in "manning a machine gun in the face of serious fire during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor" and "shooting down four enemy planes." The commanding officer in *Gung Ho!*, played by actor Randolph Scott, told his recruits to "cast out all prejudices—racial, religious, and every other kind."[51]

At least as important for the future, thousands of school districts revised their curriculum to include materials on black history and culture. They featured the fiction of Richard Wright and Lillian Smith on racial problems, and used new books like Hortense Powdermaker's *Probing Our Prejudices* and Ruth Benedict's *Races of Mankind*, which taught that racism was cruel and indefensible and that racial differences were more a matter of culture than biology. Many school assemblies featured the short film *The House I Live In*, in which Frank Sinatra explained to kids that intolerance was a "Nazi" characteristic and practicing equality an "American" one. The Oscar-winning film ends with the popular crooner singing "all races and religions, that's America to me."[52]

In the same vein, by early 1944 the Bureau of Naval Personnel's pamphlet, "Guide to the Command of Negro Naval Personnel" stated: "The Navy accepts no theories of racial differences in inborn ability, but expects that every man wearing its uniform be trained and used in accordance with his maximum individual capacity determined on the basis of individual performance." Gradually, American attitudes were shifting. In 1942, 60 percent of whites told pollsters that blacks were content with their lot; by 1944, only 25 percent of whites thought blacks were treated fairly. When asked by the National Opinion Research Center in 1939, just 30 percent thought blacks and whites were equally intelligent. By 1944 half those polled thought so; and in 1946, 57 percent agreed.[53]

Summing up the developments catalyzed by the war, Myrdal concluded that "not since Reconstruction had there been more reason to anticipate fundamental changes in American race relations." Similarly, an American specialist on racial minorities, Carey McWilliams, wrote at

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[50] Dominic J. Capeci, Jr., "The Lynching of Cleo Wright: Federal Protection of Constitutional Rights during World War II," *Journal of American History* 72 (March 1986): 859-69, 874-86.
[51] Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 179; and Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 349, 373, 387.
[52] Thomas Cripps, *Making Movies Black* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 200.
[53] MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, 82-84; Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935-1946* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 988-89; and Howard Schuman, et al., *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 118.

the war's end that "more progress has been made, in this five-year period, toward a realistic understanding of the issues involved in what we still call 'the race problem' than in the entire period from the Civil War to 1940." Whether progress would continue would depend on critical postwar developments in American society and politics. But in 1945, African Americans looked forward hopefully. As journalist Carl Rowan, who became an officer in the Navy's V-12 program in 1943, wrote in his autobiography, the war was the "great liberator." It had opened for him and numerous other African Americans "new horizons of opportunity and potential achievement."[54]

It had also alarmed many whites, particularly in the South. They would redouble their fierce determination to defend Jim Crow, and could do so because they held the balance of power in Congress, monopolized the legislatures and controlled the courts in their region, and ran the local law enforcement agencies that intimidated and punished those that sought racial equality. Even the South's white liberals refused to contemplate the elimination of segregation, however slowly and piecemeal. Roosevelt's choice to head the FEPC, Mark Ethridge of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, declared that "there is no power in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis—which could now force the Southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation." "Anyone with an ounce of common sense must see," added Ralph McGill, the equally liberal editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, "that separation of the races must be maintained in the South." Segregation reigned supreme. Almost anything could, and would, be done in the name of white supremacy. Another two decades would pass before the end of the South's version of apartheid.[55]

Still, the ideological overtones of the war as a struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, joined with the self-awareness stemming from participation in the war effort, had sowed the seeds of expectations for equal opportunity. African Americans had bought war bonds, served as air-raid wardens, volunteered for the Red Cross, and fought and died for their country—and now expected their due. Like the athlete Jackie Robinson, who as a young lieutenant refused to move when a bus driver in Fort Hood, Texas, ordered him to "get to the back of the bus," and fought and won his subsequent court martial; and like the black enlistee who, after spending four years in the Army, declared, "I'm damned if I'm going to let the Alabama version of the Germans kick me around"; African Americans in 1945, far more than those in 1918, confidently expected that they would overcome racial injustice and inequality. The war had prepared them for the struggle ahead. As Langston Hughes wrote:

> When Dorie Miller took gun in hand—
> Jim Crow started his last stand.
> Our battle yet is far from won
>
> But when it is, Jim Crow'll be done.
> We gonna bury that son-of-a-gun.[56]

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[54] Carl T. Rowan, *Breaking Barriers: A Memoir* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981), 43-55.
[55] John Temple Graves, "The Southern Negro and the War Crisis," *Virginia Quarterly Review* XVIII (Autumn 1942).
[56] Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 59; Langston Hughes, "Jim Crow's Last Stand," in Langston Hughes, *Jim Crow's Last Stand* (Atlanta: Negro Publication Society of America, 1943).

Other Minorities

In varying degrees, the wartime winds of change also brought new opportunities and difficulties to other minorities.[57] More than twenty-five thousand Native Americans served in the armed forces during the war, fully integrated with whites. Navajo "code talkers" confounded the Japanese by using their tribal language to relay messages between U.S. command centers. "Were it not for the Navajos, the Marines would never have taken Iwo Jima," one Signal Corps officer declared.

Another fifty thousand Indians left the reservation to help construct military depots and training camps, and to work in defense industries, mainly on the West Coast. The Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota lost more than a quarter of its population to migration during the war. It was the first time most had lived in a non-Indian world, and the average income of Native American households tripled during the war. Such economic improvement encouraged many Indians to remain outside the reservation and to try and become assimilated into mainstream life. But anti-Indian discrimination, particularly in cities and towns near reservations, such as Gallup, New Mexico, and Billings, Montana, forced many Native Americans back to their reservations, which had suffered severely from budget cuts during the war. Prodded by those who coveted Indian lands, lawmakers demanded that Indians be taken off the backs of the taxpayers and "freed from the reservations" to fend for themselves. To mobilize against the campaign to end all reservations and trust protections, Native Americans in 1944 organized the National Congress of American Indians.[58]

Like Native Americans, the 1.5 million Hispanic Americans on the home front shared many of the same experiences as African Americans: overt discrimination, segregation, and lower wages. To relieve labor shortages in agriculture, caused by conscription and the movement of rural workers to city factories, the U.S. government negotiated an agreement with Mexico in July 1942 to import *braceros*, or temporary workers. Classified as foreign laborers and not as immigrants, an estimated 200,000 *braceros*, half of them in California, received short-term contracts guaranteeing adequate wages, medical care, and decent living conditions. But farm owners frequently violated the terms of these contracts and also encouraged an influx of illegal migrants from Mexico desperate for employment. Unable to complain about their working conditions without risking arrest and deportation, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans were exploited by agribusinesses in Arizona, California, and Texas.

Simultaneously, tens of thousands of Mexican Americans left agricultural work for well-paying jobs in factories, shipbuilding yards, petroleum refineries, and steel mills. By 1943, about half a million Chicanos were living in Los Angeles County, 10 percent of the total population. In New Mexico nearly 20 percent of the Mexican American farm laborers escaped from rural poverty to urban jobs. School districts in California and the Southwest developed programs to instill cultural pride and self-esteem among Mexican American children, and encouraged bilingual education. But even as their occupational status and material conditions improved, most

[57] The brief narratives in this study cannot do justice to the rich wartime stories of these groups. For more details, see the sources listed in the footnotes.
[58] Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), and Peter Iverson, *"We Are Still Here": American Indians in the Twentieth Century* (Wheeling, IL.: Harlan Davidson, 1998).

Chicanos remained in communities, called *colonias*, segregated from the larger society and frequently harassed by the police.[59]

The most disturbing incident of the hostility toward Mexican Americans focused on young gang members who wore "zoot suits"—a fashion that originated in Harlem and emphasized long, broad-shouldered jackets and baggy trousers tightly pegged at the ankles. Known as *pachucos*, zoot-suited Mexican Americans aroused the ire of servicemen stationed, or on leave, in the Los Angeles area, who saw them as delinquents and draft dodgers. Following a rumor that young Chicanos had beaten a sailor, white servicemen rampaged through the city on the night of June 4, 1943, stripping *pachucos*, cutting their long hair, and beating them. According to one sailor: "Procedure was standard: grab a zooter. Take off his pants and frock coat and tear them up or burn them. Trim the '... ducktail' haircut that goes with the screwy costume." For five days local police and military authorities looked the other way and allowed the self-appointed vigilantes to raid the barrios, strip zoot-suited teenagers, and beat them with impunity. While the Los Angeles press blamed the violence entirely on the Mexican American community, and city officials praised the servicemen's actions, *Time* magazine described the violence as "the ugliest brand of mob action since the coolie race riots of the 1870s." Nothing was done by the City Council except to make the wearing of a zoot suit a misdemeanor.[60]

Fearing that the violence might have a negative effect on the Good Neighbor Policy in Latin America, the Roosevelt administration allocated federal funds to train Hispanic Americans for wartime jobs, to improve education in the barrios, and to assist Latinos in colleges throughout the Southwest. More than 350,000 Mexican Americans served in the armed forces without segregation, and in all combat units. They volunteered in much higher numbers than warranted by their percentage of the draft-age population, joined the most hazardous branches (paratroops and Marine Corps), and earned a disproportionate number of citations for distinguished service and seventeen Medals of Honor. Air Corps hero José Holguín from Los Angeles was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal, and the Silver Star. Returning Mexican American G.I.s joined long-standing anti-discrimination groups, like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and organized their own associations, like the American G.I. Forum, to press for veterans' interests, equal rights, and an end to racial prejudice and discrimination.[61]

The great exception, the only ethnic group singled out for mass exclusion, was the Japanese Americans. Juxtaposed to the voluntary migrations and significant gains made by African Americans and Mexican Americans, the forced relocation and internment of nearly 120,000 first-generation Japanese immigrants (Issei) and native-born Japanese American citizens of the United States (Nisei) was a tragic reminder of the fragility of civil liberties in wartime.

The internment reflected almost a century of anti-Asian sentiment on the West Coast, rooted in racial prejudice and economic rivalry. Nativist politicians, farmers who wanted Japanese

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[59] Cletus E. Daniel, *Chicano Workers and the Politics of Fairness: The Fair Employment Practices Commission and the Southwest, 1941-1945* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).
[60] Mauricio Mazon, *The Zoot Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984).
[61] See George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1949); and Stanley Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

American land, and others had long decried the "yellow peril." Near hysteria on the West Coast following the attack on Pearl Harbor helped them arouse the public against the Japanese "menace." Despite FBI reports of there being no plots by Japanese Americans, the press continued to print rumors of Japanese saboteurs. Accusations of sedition masked age-old prejudices. Blatant stereotyping and use of the word "Jap" filled the press. One barber advertised “free shaves for Japs,” but “not responsible for accidents.” Patriotic associations and many newspapers clamored for the removal of the Japanese Americans, as did local politicians and the West Coast states’ congressional delegations. Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt of the Western Defense Command spoke for many when he declared that all Japanese Americans, aliens and citizens alike, were "an enemy race," bound by "racial affinities" to their homeland.[62]

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the exclusion from military areas of anyone deemed a threat. Although neither the FBI nor military intelligence had any evidence of disloyal behavior by Japanese Americans, the military ordered the eviction of nearly 120,000 Nisei and Issei from the West Coast and southern Arizona. In Hawaii, with a far larger number of Hawaiians of Japanese ancestry, as well as of unnaturalized Japanese, no mass internment policy was implemented, and no sabotage occurred. Indeed, not a single Japanese American was ever convicted of espionage, treason, or sedition.

Given less than a week to sell their lands and homes at whatever prices they could obtain, Japanese Americans lost millions of dollars in property and possessions. Tagged with names and numbers, they were herded into ten war relocation centers in desolate, remote areas of the West and in the wet farmlands of eastern Arkansas. Most lived in tarpaper-covered wooden barracks, surrounded by barbed wire fences and guard towers with machine guns facing inward. Karl Yoneda, an internee sent to Manzanar, California, before the center was completed, recalled:

> There were no lights, stoves, or window panes. My two cousins and I, together with seven others, were crowded into a 25 x 30 foot room. We slept on army cots with our clothes on. The next morning we discovered that there were no toilets or washrooms.[63]

Few Americans protested the relocation. Stating that it would not question government claims of "military necessity" during time of war, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the evacuation in *Korematsu v. United States* (1944). Three judges dissented, terming relocation the "legalization of racism.” By then the hysteria had subsided and the government had begun a program allowing some Nisei to attend college or take jobs (but not on the West Coast). About twenty-six thousand served in the military. The all-Nisei 442nd Combat Team suffered a 57 percent casualty rate battling in the mountains of Italy and earned over a thousand citations for bravery, becoming one of the most decorated units of its size and length of service in military service. The 100th Battalion, composed of Nisei from Hawaii, was nearly wiped out.

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[62] Peter Irons, *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese Internment Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 39-41, 60-61, 283; Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 31-32. Also see Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftin, *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans during World War II* (New York: Macmillan, 1969); Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1944); and Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow, 1976). For a different perspective, see David D. Lowman, *Magic: The Untold Story of U.S. Intelligence, and the Evacuation of Japanese Residents from the West Coast During WW II* (Utah: Athena Press, 2001).

[63] Irons, *Justice at War*, 61-62, 72; also see Gordon Chang, ed., *Morning Glory, Evening Shadow: Yamato Ichihashi and His Internment Writings, 1942-1945* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1997).

Conversely, some six thousand Japanese Americans, many of whom had been sent to a special detention camp in a fierce dispute about a government “loyalty questionnaire,” renounced their citizenship and left the United States for Japan after the war. (Most would later reapply for permission to return to the United States.)

In 1982, a special government commission concluded in its report, *Personal Justice Denied*, that the internment "was not justified by military necessity." It blamed the Roosevelt administration's action on "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership" and recommended an apology to Japanese Americans for "a grave injustice." In 1988, Congress voted to pay $20,000 compensation to each of the nearly 80,000 surviving internees. In 1998, President Bill Clinton further apologized for the injustice by giving the nation’s highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, to Fred Korematsu, who had protested the evacuation decree all the way to the Supreme Court.[64]

The lofty rhetoric emphasizing the "melting pot" and "the family of man” during the Second World War heightened every minority's desire and drive for inclusion. In a war portrayed as an ideological struggle as much as a military conflict, the United States had defeated fascism and discredited racism, held aloft the ideal of democracy for all its citizens, and founded a United Nations committed to human rights for all. These messages would be used by every minority group, including the Japanese Americans, to provide moral leverage in their struggles for equality in the decades to come.[65]

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[64] Irons, *Justice at War*, 281-88. Also see Charles Kikuchi, *Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973); and the photographs and essay in Gary Y. Okihiro, *Whispered Silences: Japanese Americans and World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996).

[65] Walter White, *A Rising Wind* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1945), 142-44; L. D. Reddick, “The New Race Relations Frontier,” *Journal of Educational Sociology* 19 (November 1945): 129-45; Mark J. Harris, Franklin D. Mitchell, and Steven J. Schecter, eds., *The Home Front: America during World War II* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1984), 98, 251-52; Neil Wynn, "War and Racial Progress: The African American Experience during World War II," *Peace and Change* 20 (July 1995): 348-63; and Philip Gleason, "Americans All: World War II and the Shaping of American Identity," *Review of Politics* 43 (1981): 502. Also see Harvard Sitkoff, “African American Militancy in the World War II South: Another Perspective,” in Neil McMillen, ed., *Remaking Dixie: The Impact of World War II on the American South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997), 70-92.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

This section is intended to assist agencies and individuals seeking to identify, document, and evaluate properties under the *World War II and the American Home Front* context for possible designation as National Historic Landmarks (NHLs). This section is divided into two subsections. The first describes six broad property types that emerged from the historic contexts and properties identified during the course of the study, and the second provides registration requirements based on the NHL criteria as applied to the home front context and property types.

TYPES OF HISTORIC HOME FRONT PROPERTIES

As America went to war in Europe, the home front embarked on the most monumental mobilization in the country's history. A massive federal wartime building program constructed or converted facilities needed to train the armed forces, produce military equipment, protect the home front, and develop military applications for technology. Federal programs and some industrialists supplied housing for the massive number of workers migrating to jobs in Washington, D.C. and to the country's new production centers. Beyond the actual building program, the government and people on the home front worked to sustain morale and also faced important domestic social issues as mobilization impacted the already fragile state of race and ethnic relations on military training bases, in the work place, and within communities. These factors lead to the following six broad property types that reflect important topics under the *World War II and the American Home Front* context:

- **Places associated with production** are where the military, industry, universities, and the federal government—often in close cooperation—produced essential wartime goods and technology. These places may be where manufacturers produced military equipment and transport vehicles, where scientists designed and produced advanced wartime technology, or where engineers produced infrastructure needed to supply power to wartime industries. Examples of property types include factories, government arsenals, shipyards and ordnance plants, industrial installations built by the government, private plants converted from civilian to military production, research laboratories and testing facilities, transportation facilities, and hydroelectric plants.

- **Places associated with manpower** are those that supported the defense industry and the military workforce to meet phenomenal wartime productivity demands. These places may be where workers lived, where organized labor fought against wage controls, and where troops and their supplies traveled across the country and overseas as thousands of new recruits entered the military. Examples of property types include union headquarters, embarkation ports, military training camps and bases, and housing constructed for military dependents and war workers.

- **Places associated with politics and government** are where federal agencies developed policies and directed programs, where individuals influenced politics, where major political leaders and public officials made important speeches, held meetings, or debated policies; or places that reflect governmental policy. Examples of property types include government agency headquarters, homes, and public meeting facilities.

- **Places associated with civil rights** are where groups faced racial segregation or internment. Throughout the war the federal government housed and trained black and white soldiers in

separate facilities, and interred persons of Japanese descent and other refugees. Examples of property types include segregated workers' housing, segregated military training and recreational facilities, war relocation centers, and refugee camps. Other places associated with civil rights may include factories or public spaces where important racial or ethnic conflicts or incidents occurred.

- **Places associated with morale and propaganda** are where federal government programs either encouraged a sense of popular participation in the war effort or censored war-related events that could alarm the public. Morale and propaganda places may also include those associated with individuals who portrayed the war to the American public. Examples of properties include movie studios that made propaganda films; homes associated with important individuals; and captured enemy vessels on government tours to promote bond sales.

- **Places associated with home defense** include buildings the federal government used to defend the home front against attack. Examples of property types include radar stations, coastal defense fortifications, and ports where convoys were assembled.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK DESIGNATION

NHLs designated under the *World War II and the American Home Front* theme study must be acknowledged to be among the nation's most significant properties associated with production, manpower, politics and government, civil rights, morale and propaganda, and home defense on the home front during World War II. The association must have occurred between 1939, when the war broke out in Europe, and 1945, when V-E and V-J days marked the war's end. The properties must be located within the wartime boundaries of the United States and its territories and possessions.

Nationally significant associations and high integrity are the thresholds for designation. In addition, each property must be evaluated against comparable properties sharing the same significance before its eligibility for NHL designation can be confirmed.

National Significance

Any NHL designated under this context must have a nationally significant association with one or more of the important topics identified in the study. According to NHL regulations (36 CFR 65.4 [a & b]), the quality of national significance can be ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture; that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association; and that:

Criterion 1 Are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained;

Criterion 2 Are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States;

Criterion 3 Represent some great idea or ideal of the American people;

Criterion 4 Embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for the study of a period, style, or method of construction, or represent a significant, distinctive, and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction;

Criterion 5 Are composed of integral parts of the environment that are not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but that collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

Criterion 6 Have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation of large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

The following discussion provides specific suggestions of criteria and topics with which potential NHLs might be associated and gives examples of NHLs that have already been designated. Most NHLs designated under this context are likely to be eligible under Criterion 1 (events), 2 (people), or 5 (districts), but possible significance under other criteria should also be considered.[1]

Criterion 1

A property may be significant under Criterion 1 if it played a central or pivotal role in nationally significant events or patterns of events. Places associated with **production** that may be eligible under this criterion might include:

- Newly built or converted manufacturing sites that made extraordinary contributions to the production of armaments that proved pivotal to the conduct of war;
- Industrial facilities that outstandingly represent the critical role of the government in planning, financing, and organizing the massive increases in wartime production;
- Government-sponsored, university-based, or private research laboratories; or military facilities that made discoveries in science or technology considered vital to Allied victory.

Places associated with **manpower** that may be considered for NHL designation under Criterion 1 might include:

- Military bases recognized as exceptionally important in developing innovative nationwide training programs;
- Primary transport and port facilities that were exceptionally important for delivering personnel, material, weapons and ammunition to the fighting fronts or to U.S. allies under the Lend-Lease program;
- Headquarters or other places associated with the nationally significant activities of major unions such as the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the United Mine Workers, and the United Automobile Works that directly contributed to federal labor laws during the war;

[1] Detailed guidance in applying the criteria and assessing integrity for potential NHLs can be found in the National Register Bulletin *How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations.*

- Civilian housing or communities that outstandingly represent the planning or policies of the federal wartime building program.

Places associated with **politics and government** that may be considered under NHL Criterion 1 might include:
- Federal agency headquarters that initiated and oversaw programs critical to the war's monumental mobilization efforts;
- Locations associated with major policy speeches or national policy debates that proved pivotal to wartime planning or policies, or places that outstandingly represent crucial wartime government policies.

Places associated with **civil rights** that may be considered under NHL Criterion 1 might include:
- Military bases that outstandingly represent major turning points in the desegregation of African Americans in the military;
- Sites of nationally important wartime racial or ethnic conflicts and events that altered the military's and the executive administration's stance on segregation policies;
- War relocation centers for persons of Japanese descent (although these may be designated under the *Home Front* theme study, they must primarily be evaluated under the *Japanese Americans in World War II* National Historic Landmarks theme study).

Places associated with **morale and propaganda** that may be considered under NHL Criterion 1 might include:
- Places that outstandingly represent government programs to control and manage information used to encourage popular support for the war;
- Places having nationally significant associations with nationwide popular culture that helped create and sustain morale on the home front;
- Places that outstandingly represent the importance of volunteers to the war effort.

Places associated with **home defense** that may be considered under NHL Criterion 1 might include:
- Coastal fortifications and installations exceptionally important for justifying advancements in innovative defense needs;
- Places that outstandingly represent the role volunteers played in air raid defense and coastal surveillance.

Examples

NHLs associated with the World War II home front and designated under Criterion 1 include:

30- by 60-Foot Full Scale Tunnel*, Langley Research Center, Hampton City, Virginia (designated October 3, 1985)*
Property type*: Places associated with production*
The National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics' first full-scale wind tunnel (then the world's largest) went into operation in 1931 to test large-scale and full-scale aircraft at actual flight speeds in an effort to streamline airplanes and obtain drag reduction. Almost all World War II fighter planes were tested here. The tunnel is an example of the close cooperation between the federal government and private industry that characterized the wartime production build-up.

***Randolph Field Historic District**, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas (designated August 7, 2001)*
***Property type**: Places associated with manpower*
In 1931, Randolph Field became the site of a unique Air Corps school for flying training, and during World War II, the airfield had central responsibility for training Army Air Forces pilots and was responsible for the private pilot training program that provided primary level training for approximately 100,000 Army pilots a year by 1943. In February 1943, pilot training ended at Randolph to make way for the Central Instructor's School that trained all flying instructors at all Army training schools in the U.S. with the objectives of standardizing training throughout the Flying Training Command and establishing a proving ground for the development of training methods and training aids.

***The Pentagon**, Arlington County, Virginia (designated October 5, 1992)*
***Property type**: Places associated with politics and government*
The largest office building in the world when it opened in 1943, the Pentagon reflects the enormous expansion in the size and influence of the War Department during World War II.

***Manzanar War Relocation Center**, Independence, Inyo County, California (designated February 4, 1985)*
***Property type**: Places associated with civil rights*
This was the first war relocation center established by the federal government for people of Japanese descent relocated from the West Coast. Temporary tarpaper-covered barracks in the Owens Valley desert housed about 10,000 men, women, and children, most of them American citizens, who lived here for up to three years surrounded by barbed wire and watched by armed sentries.

***HA-19**, Fredericksburg, Gillespie County, Texas (designated June 30, 1989)*
***Property type**: Places associated with morale and propaganda*
Haramaki was a Japanese midget submarine that took part in the attack on Pearl Harbor. After its capture, HA-19 was taken on tour to promote the sale of war bonds. Visited by millions of Americans, it illustrates the importance the government placed on war bond drives, as a means of not only financing the war and combating inflation, but also encouraging a sense of popular participation in the war effort.

***Opana Radar Site**, Oahu, Hawaii (designated April 19, 1994)*
***Property type:** Places associated with home defense*
An Army long-range radar located here detected what turned out to be approaching Japanese aircraft on the morning of December 7, 1941. Although the signals were attributed to American aircraft and the report was discounted, the sighting confirmed the importance of radar to defending the nation's borders.

Criterion 2

Properties designated as NHLs under this criterion must be associated with individuals who have played central or critical roles within the World War II home front context at the national level in the areas of production, manpower, politics and government, civil rights, morale and propaganda, or home defense. The individual must have made nationally significant contributions that can be specifically documented and that are directly associated with both the home front context and the property being considered.

People whose associated places may be considered under NHL Criterion 2 in the area of **production** might include:

- Industrialists who developed important new technologies or innovative production techniques that dramatically increased the output of critical materials or products;
- Research scientists or engineers who played central roles in exceptionally important scientific and technological discoveries.

People whose associated places may be considered under NHL Criterion 2 in the area of **manpower** might include:

- Labor leaders who played nationally significant roles in developing, cooperating with, or opposing government manpower policies that altered federal wartime labor laws;
- Industrialists who were nationally important pioneers in providing model housing or social programs to attract and hold national defense workers.

People whose associated places may be considered under NHL Criterion 2 in the area of **politics and government** might include:

- Leaders of the federal government who played highly critical roles in planning, financing, and implementing the wartime mobilization;
- Nationally important political leaders responsible for affecting major war policies.

People whose associated places may be considered under NHL Criterion 2 in the area of **civil rights** might include:

- Individuals whose actions were extraordinarily important in protesting against or in influencing attitudes towards racial discrimination that directly influenced wartime federal policies.

People whose associated places may be considered under NHL Criterion 2 in the area of **morale and propaganda** might include:

- Individuals who made extraordinary contributions to creating and sustaining morale on the home front through nationwide popular culture.

People whose associated places may be considered under NHL Criterion 2 in the area of **home defense** might include:

- Individuals who were exceptionally significant in organizing or conducting national civil defense programs.

Examples

NHLs associated with the World War II home front and designated under Criterion 2 include:

Charles Richard Drew House*, Arlington County, Virginia (designated May 11, 1976)*
Property type*: Places associated with production*
Drew, a surgeon associated with Howard University, discovered how to preserve blood plasma. Early in World War II he organized Plasma for Britain, which became a model for later blood distribution programs that saved many lives.

Burton K. Wheeler House*, Butte, Silver Bow County, Montana (designated December 8, 1976)*
Property type*: Places associated with politics and government*
A leading Progressive and an early supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal programs, Wheeler was

one of many Americans who opposed the President over American intervention in the war. During the defense period, he was an important member of the America First Committee. Although he supported the war after Pearl Harbor, his prewar isolationism cost him his Senate seat in 1946.

Criterion 3

Properties are likely to be eligible for NHL designation under this criterion only in those rare instances when they are strongly associated with ideas and ideals of the highest order in the history of the World War II home front.

Examples

To date, no NHLs associated with the World War II home front have been designated under Criterion 3.

Criterion 4

Places associated with the World War II home front that may be eligible for NHL designation under Criterion 4 may be exceptionally important examples of wartime architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, planning, or construction techniques. Such properties might include:

- Buildings or housing complexes that employed nationally significant innovative planning or architecture, construction techniques, or new building materials essential to the massive mobilization program;
- Prototype buildings, complexes, or housing that served as models nationwide throughout the war for the federal building program;
- Military bases that outstandingly represent the federal government's massive mobilization program designed to provide housing and training facilities for the troops.

Examples

To date, no NHLs associated with the World War II home front have been designated under Criterion 4.

Criterion 5

Districts that collectively possess extraordinary *historic* importance under other NHL Criteria may be considered for designation under Criterion 5 as well. *Architecturally* significant districts are more likely to be designated under Criterion 4.

Example

Manzanar War Relocation Center and Randolph Field Historic District, discussed above under other criteria, were also designated under Criterion 5.

Criterion 6

This criterion was developed specifically to recognize archeological properties. In order to prove significance under this criterion, the documentation must demonstrate that the data contained in

the site have made or are likely to make major contributions to our understanding of the World War II home front by substantially modifying a major historic concept, by resolving a substantial historical debate, or by closing a serious gap in a major theme.

Examples

To date, no NHLs associated with the World War II home front have been designated under Criterion 6.

NHL Exceptions

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years are not eligible for NHL designation. If such properties fall within the following categories they may, nevertheless, be found to qualify:

Exception 1 A religious property deriving its primary national significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance;

Exception 2 A building or structure removed from its original location but which is nationally significant primarily for its architectural merit, or for association with persons or events of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association is consequential;

Exception 3 A site of a building or structure no longer standing but the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association is consequential;

Exception 4 A birthplace, grave, or burial if it is of a historical figure of transcendent national significance and no other appropriate site, building, or structure directly associated with the productive life of that person exists;

Exception 5 A cemetery that derives its primary national significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, or from an exceptionally distinctive design or an exceptionally significant event;

Exception 6 A reconstructed building or ensemble of buildings of extraordinary national significance when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other buildings or structures with the same association have survived;

Exception 7 A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own national historical significance;

Exception 8 A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary national importance.

Integrity

NHLs designated under this theme study must also possess high integrity. The property must retain to a high degree the essential physical features that enable it to convey its exceptional historical significance. Essential physical features are those that define both *why* a property is significant (NHL criteria) and *when* it was significant (period of significance). They are features without which a specific property can no longer be identified as, for instance, a military training camp or a government office building or a factory from the World War II period. The first step

in assessing the integrity of a specific property is to define the essential features a property must have to represent its national significance, and then to determine whether those features are present to a high degree so that they readily convey the property's national significance.

The evaluation of integrity is somewhat of a subjective judgment. This subjectivity can be minimized when the evaluation is grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its historical associations or attributes. The NHL Program recognizes seven aspects or qualities of integrity. These are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

- *Location* is the exact place where the historic event occurred or where the historic property was constructed. While many properties associated with the *World War II and the American Home Front* context, such as factories, military bases, and housing projects, are likely to be in their original location simply because of their size, small barracks or houses may have been relocated. Properties that have been moved from their original locations can be considered for designation under this theme study only if they meet the special requirements of NHL Exception 2 (above).

- *Design* is the combination of elements that create the historic form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. Factories constructed for the industrial mobilization probably will have lost all of their historic equipment and are likely to have been converted to new uses. Buildings later modified for other kinds of manufacturing may still retain integrity, while those converted to accommodate new uses must be carefully evaluated in relationship to the property's significance. Design can also be a defining feature in districts, reflected in the way in which the buildings, sites, or structures were related to each other during their historic period of significance. Although the overall layout and design of a planned housing project may have survived, the district is not likely to retain the high integrity necessary for NHL designation unless the historic design of the individual houses has also been maintained.

- *Setting* is the physical environment of a historic property. It involves how, not just where, the property is situated and its historical relationship to surrounding features and open space. The settings of wartime properties frequently have changed dramatically over time: from rural to urban, from closely surrounded with other buildings and structures to standing isolated among vacant buildings and parking lots. It is important to take into consideration both the significance of an individual property and the importance of its setting to that significance when evaluating its integrity of setting.

- *Materials* are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. To retain the high integrity needed for NHL designation, most of the historic materials and significant features from the World War II period must have been preserved, even if the property has been rehabilitated. If significant events took place inside buildings, interiors must also be largely intact.

- *Workmanship* is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. It is the evidence of artisans' labor and skill in constructing or altering a building, structure, object, or site. It may be expressed in sophisticated architectural details or in plain finishes and vernacular methods of construction. As one example, the rough construction used in "temporary" World War II army bases, relocation

centers, and housing projects is important evidence of wartime shortages and time constraints. “Improvements” that used high quality construction techniques might result in compromising the integrity of these important properties.

- *Feeling* is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. It results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property's historic character. For example, a housing project where the houses have been enlarged and the historic dirt roads paved may have lost its historic “sense of place,” while one that retains its original design, materials, workmanship, and setting can still convey the feeling of life on the World War II home front.

- *Association* is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property retains association when it is the actual place where the event or activity occurred and readily conveys that relationship to an observer. Offices, for example, have more direct associations with the significant work of important executives or labor leaders than houses or apartments where they spent only their leisure time. As in the case of integrity of feeling, association requires the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character.

Evaluation

Finally, each individual property being considered for designation as an NHL under the *World War II and the American Home Front* theme study must be evaluated against other properties bearing a similar nationally significant association to determine its relative significance. Comparing individual properties with similar ones elsewhere in the country provides the necessary basis for determining which ones have the strongest associations and the highest levels of integrity and are therefore good candidates for NHL designation.

Evaluation of the relative significance and integrity for properties being considered for NHL designation under this theme study is vital because thousands of military bases, factories, shipyards, housing projects, and other properties were built or converted during World War II. Perhaps most of those that survive intact will meet the criteria for listing in the National Register at the state or local level. Considerable research may be required to develop the comparative information necessary to determine which ones best represent their relevant topic at the national level. In some cases, research may need to extend beyond the home front. Bases or armories, for instance, may have nationally significant associations with military units that played critical roles in decisive battles. Ports and airports through which military equipment was sent to Great Britain or the Soviet Union under the Lend-Lease program may have played critical roles in helping those countries survive German attack. Certain specific types of aircraft or other military equipment may have been so important to U.S. or Allied operations abroad that surviving plants where they were manufactured might be eligible for designation as NHLs because of that association.

METHODOLOGY

The process for identifying properties associated with the *World War II and the American Home Front* historic context began in 2002 with a letter from the Director, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, National Park Service, to State Historic Preservation Officers, Federal Preservation Officers, and Tribal Preservation Officers located within the geographical scope of this study in the wartime United States and its territories and possessions, asking them to suggest properties in their areas of responsibility associated with the World War II home front. Based on the replies received and the essays prepared for this theme study, additional research in a variety of mostly secondary sources identified potentially nationally significant properties associated with production, manpower, politics and government, civil rights, and morale and propaganda.

Properties associated with Japanese Americans during World War II have not been evaluated for this theme study because they have been studied in depth elsewhere. In 1992, Congress asked the National Park Service to study thirty-seven individual properties related either to the forced relocation of Japanese Americans during the war or to their service in the U.S. military. The resulting National Historic Landmarks (NHL) theme study, *Japanese Americans and World War II*, discusses these sites in detail, makes recommendations for further action on some of them, and also identifies additional places for study in this context.

The following discussion of other properties with important home front associations that have been identified in the course of this theme study, including information on the current level of federal recognition, if any, and recommended actions, is divided into two subsections. The first section, "National Historic Landmarks," lists properties that have been designated NHLs since this study began. The second section, "National Historic Landmarks Study List," includes properties that appear to have nationally significant associations with the home front and currently appear to retain some historic integrity, but that need further study to determine whether they fully meet NHL registration requirements.

Properties identified during the course of the study that appear to be worthy of study for potential listing in the National Register of Historic Places because of their important home front associations at the state or local level and their integrity are listed in the Appendices. Here, again, further study is required to confirm that they meet the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. This list is far from complete. Few comprehensive surveys of places associated with the World War II home front have been completed. It is likely that many other places survive, some of which may be nationally significant.

STUDY RESULTS

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS

These three properties have been designated by the Secretary of the Interior as National Historic Landmarks since the issuance of this draft study in 2004.

Lafayette Building, Washington, District of Columbia (designated on September 1, 2005)
Property type: Places associated with politics and government
This building, completed in 1940, was the headquarters of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), which played an important role in the industrial expansion of World War II. Established as a Depression-relief agency in 1932 and given greatly expanded power, flexibility, and resources in 1940, the RFC, usually working through one of its defense-related subsidiaries, financed over one-third of the $25 billion invested in new industrial plants during the war. The building is also associated with Jesse Jones, who maintained his control over the powerful RFC even after being promoted to other posts in the administration. A "rugged product of Texas capitalism," Jones's close association with the emerging Congressional coalition of conservative Democrats and western Republicans gave him great political power but did not prevent him from becoming the subject of intense criticism before Pearl Harbor for doing "too little, too late" in preparing for war.

Lafayette Building. Photo by Marilyn Harper.

Pyle, Ernie, House, Albuquerque, Bernalillo County, New Mexico (designated on September 20, 2006)
Property type: Places associated with morale and propaganda
This small house was built by war correspondent Ernie Pyle in 1940 and was his only permanent home until his death in 1945. Pyle's enormously popular descriptions of the "soldiers' war" contributed to the image of World War II as the "Good War," a style that later fell out of favor after Vietnam.

United Mine Workers of America Building, Washington, District of Columbia (designated on April 5, 2005)
Property type: Places associated with manpower
This building was the national headquarters of the union whose four strikes in 1943, involving 500,000 miners, successfully challenged government wage controls, but also contributed to a popular backlash against organized labor that led directly to the passage of the anti-labor Smith-Connally Act. The building is also significant for its association with John L. Lewis, one of the founders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, who resigned over his opposition to Roosevelt's interventionist policies and who was probably organized labor's most important, charismatic, and formidable leader.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS STUDY LIST

Based on research conducted for this theme study, these properties appear to have strong associations with nationally significant topics within the World War II home front context. Therefore, this study recommends that these properties be studied to determine their relative significance and integrity for possible National Historic Landmark (NHL) designation. As noted in the registration guidelines, all evaluations must develop a full context associated with their respective significance, assess high integrity, and compare the subject property with others that share the same significance.

This list is divided into those places associated with production, manpower, politics and government, civil rights, and morale and propaganda. No properties nationally associated with the topic of home defense were identified during the course of the study, but may be identified at a future date. Because of the number of production properties and emerging sub-themes, the topic of production is further subdivided into four categories: 1) the Manhattan Project, 2) radar development, 3) science and technology, and 4) industry.

Production: the Manhattan Project

In June 1942, President Roosevelt formally authorized the Manhattan Project that produced the world's first atomic bombs and ended the war. Public Law 108-340, the "Manhattan Project National Historical Park Study Act," directs the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE), to conduct a special resource study to determine the national significance, suitability, and feasibility of designating one or more historic sites of the Manhattan Project for potential inclusion in the National Park System. In 1999, DOE identified eight "Signature Facilities" that taken together provide the core for DOE's ability to interpret the Manhattan Project mission of developing atomic bombs during World War II. Three of the eight facilities have already been designated NHLs: 1) the Trinity Site on the White Sands Missile Range in New Mexico where the world's first nuclear device (code named "Trinity") was exploded on July 16, 1945; 2) the X-10 Graphic Reactor, Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee (designated an NHL as X-10 Reactor) that was the world's first full-scale nuclear reactor; and 3) the Metallurgical Laboratory (designated an NHL as Room 405, George Hebert Jones Laboratory, University of Chicago) where chemists isolated a pure compound of plutonium. This last Signature Facility also contains another NHL: the Site of First Self-Sustaining Nuclear Reaction at the University of Chicago where scientists achieved a controlled release of nuclear energy for the first time. The remaining five Signature Facilities are listed below:

B Reactor, Richland, Benton County, Washington (listed in the National Register on April 3, 1992)
This was the world's first full-scale plutonium production reactor. Located at the Hanford Engineer Works for the Manhattan Project, the B Reactor provided the plutonium 239 used in the first atomic device ever exploded near Alamogordo, New Mexico on July 16, 1945, (since designated the Trinity Site NHL) and for the bomb dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. The reactor also served as a model for World War II and Cold War reactors.
Recommendation: This property is currently being evaluated for NHL designation.

K-25 Gaseous Diffusion Process Building, Oak Ridge, Anderson County, Tennessee
This building was used to separate minute quantities of the uranium 235 needed for atomic bomb

production from the heavier, inert isotope U-238 by passing it in gaseous form through a series of porous barriers and cascades that used enormous amounts of electricity. The decision to build both this massive facility and the Y-12 racetracks (see below), which used an equally untested electromechanical separation process, illustrates the freedom of the critical Manhattan Project from the usual budget constraints. A portion of the K-25 building no longer exists.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for NHL consideration.

T-Plant, Chemical Separation Building, Richland, Benton County, Washington
This building (875 feet long and 102 feet high) was nicknamed "T-Canyon" because of its massive size, monolithic concrete construction, and cavernous interior. It was one of the essential components of the Hanford Engineer Works constructed for the Manhattan Project. The plant began processing fuel rods irradiated in the B Reactor in December 1944. It was here that plutonium was produced for the atomic bombs tested at the Trinity Site on July 16, 1945, and used at Nagasaki on August 9. Although the interior has been modified, the huge size and heavy construction of the building may still provide evidence of the enormous scale and expense of Manhattan Project.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for NHL consideration.

V-Site Assembly Building and Gun Site, Los Alamos, Los Alamos County, New Mexico
The Assembly Building was where the "Gadget," the bomb that was tested at the Trinity Site, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945, was first put together. The hillside Gun Site and its related structures were used to test the technique that was used to detonate the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for NHL consideration.

Y-12 Beta-3 Racetracks, Oak Ridge, Anderson County, Tennessee
This structure was built at Oak Ridge in 1944 to use an experimental method that used huge electromagnets to separate the unstable and fissionable isotope uranium 235 from the relatively inert, but much more common, uranium 238. Manhattan Project managers could not wait for scientists to decide between the electromagnetic and gaseous diffusion methods (at the K-25 Building) for separating out the U-235, so they built both types of facility—at great cost. The other electromagnetic units were dismantled by 1946; this is the only one remaining.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for NHL consideration.

Production: Radar Development

The following properties are associated with radar development, one of the most significant technological advances of the war.

Building 24, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Middlesex County, Massachusetts
Opened in 1941 and expanded in 1942, this was the first building constructed for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT) Radiation Laboratory. Vannevar Bush's National Defense Research Committee contracted with MIT in October 1940 to adapt British innovations in microwave radar for military use. Employing almost 4,000 people and with a monthly budget of $4 million dollars in 1945, the Radiation Laboratory designed and produced over 100 different systems of radar. "Rad Lab" also served as an influential prototype for the research management by contract between the government and universities that would play an important role in creating the military-industrial-academic complex of the postwar period. Many

of the men and women employed here went on to work for the Manhattan Project and eight of the physicists later earned Nobel prizes.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Camp Evans Historic District, Monmouth County, New Jersey (listed in the National Register on March 26, 2002)
The Camp Evans Signal Laboratory, established in 1941, is the place most closely associated with the wartime radar research and development work of the U.S. Army Signal Corps. Radar research was divided between the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's "Rad Lab," the Naval Research Laboratory, and the Signal Corps, although cooperation was hampered by the extreme secrecy under which the work was conducted. Camp Evans concentrated on long- and medium-wave research, which the Signal Corps laboratories at adjacent Fort Monmouth had been working on since the 1930s. Dozens of Army ground and airborne radar types were developed and produced under Signal Corps supervision. Proximity fuses, another important wartime technological innovation developed by the Office of Scientific Research and Development, also were reportedly tested at Camp Evans. The facility is being reused by Infoage Science/History Learning Center, preparers of its National Register documentation.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Production: Science & Technology

Holston Ordnance Works, Kingsport, Sullivan County, Tennessee
Completed in May 1943, Holston was one of the most important of the government-owned contractor-operated munitions facilities. The Tennessee Eastman Corporation operated the facility and worked closely with the Army and the National Defense Research Committee to develop a new process to produce RDX, the world's most powerful explosive prior to the atomic bomb. The explosives produced at Holston played a vital role in the Allied war effort, first in the anti-submarine campaign of 1942-43 and later in aerial bombardment. The buildings have been documented by the Historic American Engineering Record (1986) as a typical wartime production line. Holston Ordinance Works is now the Holston Army Ammunition Plant.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Langley Research Center, Hampton City, Virginia
As aviation's premier theoretical research facility in World War II, this center is associated with the prominent role aviation played in the war and with the new willingness of the federal government to work directly with industry. The East Area of the center, which includes the Full Scale 30- by 60-Foot Full Scale [wind] Tunnel NHL, was created shortly after the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA) was created in 1915; the West Area was added in 1939, when NACA became an arm of the military services. The laboratory operated as a research facility for the armed services throughout the war, focusing on the specific problems of military aircraft. Testing methods developed by NACA engineers working with industry and the military led to important innovations in aircraft speed, range, and maneuverability.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, Inyo County, California
Attracted by the good flying weather and the vast expanse of uninhabited land, the Navy established this installation on November 8, 1943 to develop, produce, and test rockets and other new weapons in cooperation with the California Institute of Technology. The base is associated with the importance of scientific research and development in the war effort and represents a

successful collaboration between the Navy and civilian scientists and engineers. It also worked on the Manhattan Project. This property remains an active station.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Wright Field/Patterson Field, Fairfield, Greene County, Ohio
While Langley Field excelled in theoretical research, Wright Field was the leader in applied research. Wright Field was responsible for the Army's aeronautical research laboratory and included the largest wind tunnel in the world in 1941. These two prewar bases, combined after the war, illustrate the dramatic increase in the size and importance of the Army Air Forces (AAF) and of aviation generally during the war, when employment at both fields grew from 3,700 to approximately 50,000. Patterson Field was responsible for all AAF maintenance and supply, and provided housing both for recruits and for civilian workers.
Recommendation: Wright Field is currently being considered for NHL designation. Later consideration may also be given to Patterson Field.

Production: Industry

Douglas Assembly Building, Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma County, Oklahoma
This huge building, three-quarters of a mile long and almost 1,000 feet wide, was built as the main building of the Douglas Cargo Aircraft Plant. It is a good example of an aircraft factory located away from the coast to minimize vulnerability to enemy attack. Although the building was not officially opened until 1943, production began in late 1942. By 1945, the plant had produced over 5,000 of the C-47 cargo planes (modified DC-3s officially identified as "Skytrains" but universally known as "Gooney Birds") that General Dwight Eisenhower credited as one of the four most important pieces of military equipment used in the war. Working in close cooperation with the main Douglas plant in Long Beach, California, the workers in this plant at one point had the highest rate of productivity in the country. The building was designed as a "black-out" plant, artificially lit and air-conditioned. The interior is largely a single, undivided space.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Fontana Dam, Swain and Graham Counties, North Carolina
This dam, the highest in the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) system, was undertaken as an emergency project at the request of the National Defense Council. Around-the-clock construction work began in 1942 and was completed in record time. By early 1945, the dam was supplying war industries like the Alcoa aluminum plant with critically needed electric power. The decision to locate the Manhattan Project's Oak Ridge Laboratory in Tennessee was based, in part, on the ability of the TVA to generate the immense quantities of electric power needed to produce uranium for the atomic bombs that ended the war. Although the generating equipment has been modernized, the dam itself is virtually unchanged.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, Kittery, York County, Maine (listed in the National Register on November 17, 1977)
In an era when submarine warfare came into its own, this historic Navy yard was devoted exclusively to the submarine production that destroyed much of Japan's ocean commerce and denied that country the raw materials needed to wage war. During the war over 70 submarines were constructed here including the greatest number of submarines built during a calendar year: 31 during 1944. Building time per submarine was reduced from 469 calendar days in 1941 to

173 days in 1944. In comparison, Mare Naval Shipyard in California turned out 17 submarines during the war. Portsmouth continued to build submarines until 1969, when the last submarine built in a public shipyard was launched. Today the shipyard continues to service the Navy's Submarine Fleet.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Vought-Sikorsky Aircraft Plant, Stratford, Fairfield County, Connecticut
Associated with the design and development of the first production helicopter for the Army Air Forces, this complex represents the importance of research and engineering innovation in World War II defense production. Built in 1929, the plant was expanded during the war to serve as the primary production site for the Navy's Corsair fighter planes. The complex is also significant for its association with Igor Sikorsky, the "Father of the Helicopter." Sikorsky's experimental VS-300 of 1940, and the XR-4 produced for the Army Air Forces in 1942, whose short career introduced the military to the helicopter's possibilities and limitations, included all major elements of the modern helicopter. Since the Korean War the property was controlled by the Defense Department and then by the Army for engine manufacturing. The plant closed in 1995, and plans are underway to market the property through the General Services Administration. This plant was placed on Connecticut's State Register of Historic Places in 2007.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Manpower

Camp McCoy, Monroe County, Wisconsin
Property type: Places associated with manpower
In 1942, this military base was built in six months to house 35,000 soldiers. It represents the enormous government construction program necessary to provide housing and training in temporary buildings for thousands of men newly inducted into the Army. Its innovative triangular plan influenced the design of other training camps, and according to the Historical American Building Survey (HABS) completed in 1988, the base represents one of the most complete collections of 800-Series temporary standard buildings still in existence. In June 1942, the first unit to train here was the 100th Infantry Battalion from Hawaii, the first all-Japanese American Nisei (second generation Americans of Japanese ancestry) military unit. (This unit later trained, in January 1943, at Camp Shelby in Mississippi.) Portions of the original camp have been destroyed and replaced with new structures. However, a site visit conducted by the National Park Service and the Wisconsin SHPO in 2004 found that the base still maintained integrity. NHL evaluation commenced on this property, but halted due to property owner opposition. McCoy is an active training base.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

New York Port of Embarkation, Brooklyn, Kings County, New York (listed in the National Register on September 23, 1983 as the United States Army Military Ocean Terminal)
This complex of huge storage warehouses (designed by renowned architect Cass Gilbert), built in the last years of World War I, was the headquarters of the New York Port of Embarkation (NYPE) in World War II. During the war, the NYPE grew to include ten terminals around New York Harbor, employing a total of 55,000 men and women at the height of the mobilization. During the course of the war, more than three million troops and over 63 million (38 millions according to HAER documentation) tons of supplies moved through the port. New York City purchased the property from the federal government in 1981 and has operated it as an industrial park, leasing space to small manufacturers. Historic American Engineering Record (HAER)

documentation completed in 1988 indicated that all major base components were largely intact. The documentation was undertaken to mitigate adverse affects (under a Memorandum of Agreement) created by removal of the outer 619 feet of Pier 1.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Politics and Government

Administration Building, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, District of Columbia (designated as an NHL on June 23, 1965 for its association with the Carnegie Institution)
The building is significant for its association with Vannevar Bush, an engineer and former vice-president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who became president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1938. In 1940, Bush convinced President Roosevelt that a new civilian agency was needed to ensure that the most advanced scientific and technological research would be quickly incorporated in weapons design. He used his position as director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), his personal access to the President, huge appropriations, and strong personality to revolutionize the relationship between the military, industry, and the universities, playing a critical role in creating the military-industrial-academic complex of the postwar period. During the war, this early 20th century building also served as the headquarters of the National Defense Research Committee and the OSRD, which worked closely with the military and with academic and private research institutions to develop some of the most important scientific and technological innovations of the war, including microwave radar, proximity fuses, anti-malarial drugs, large-scale production of penicillin, and the initial stages of the creation of the atomic bomb.
Recommendation: Amend the NHL documentation to reflect its World War II home front national significance.

Fort Ontario, Oswego County, New York (listed in the National Register on December 18, 1970)
This emergency shelter for Jewish refugees is associated with the unwillingness of the Roosevelt administration to take timely action to aid victims of Nazi persecution. The camp, located in an abandoned Army post on the grounds of a 19th century fort, appears to have been the only shelter organized by the federal War Refugee Board, which was not created until January 1944. The camp housed about 1,000 Jewish refugees. The shelter closed in February 1946 after it was determined that the refugees could apply for American residency. Although the dormitories are gone, the administration building for the camp survives. The Safe Haven Museum and Education Center, a memorial to the suffering and the triumph of the human spirit, was created in the old Administration Building for the refugee shelter at Fort Ontario and dedicated on October 6, 2002.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Social Security Building, Washington, District of Columbia (listed in the National Register July 6, 2007 for its architectural significance and its association with the social security program)
This building, completed in 1940 for the Social Security Administration, was immediately taken over by newly established and rapidly expanding agencies created to manage the defense effort. The agencies housed here were some of the most important and most controversial of the war, both then and now: the War Production Board, responsible for allocating critical industrial war materials, but often criticized for its favoritism towards big business and for its ineffectual leadership; the War Manpower Commission, assigned responsibility for training and allocating

labor, but denied authority over the draft and military production decisions; and the Office of War Information, which worked closely with the entertainment industry and private advertising agencies to maintain morale and support for the war, both at home and abroad, but was criticized for using its powers for partisan propaganda purposes.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

New Social Security Building in Washington, D.C. January 1942. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection [LC-USE6-D-002115].

Civil Rights

Belle Isle, Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan (listed in the National Register on February 25, 1974 for its significance as a park)
The nation's worst race riot since 1919 began in this turn-of-the-twentieth-century urban park, located in one of the nation's most important wartime production centers. The wartime shifting city demographics intensified racial tensions and on a hot Sunday in June 1943, whites began throwing stones at an African American boy who had drifted into the white area of the segregated swimming pool at the crowded park. Other sources state that the incident occurred at the park between black and white teenagers, and between blacks and white sailors. Rumors raced through both black and white neighborhoods deep in the city resulting in a murderous riot that lasted for over twenty-four hours and ended in the deaths of twenty-five blacks and nine whites. The rioting in Belle Isle forced the federal Office of War Information to devise a strategy on how to deal with racial tension, and from that point on the government was reportedly prepared to move with police power if needed, and had devised a method of tracking tensions that halted race riots anywhere after late summer of 1943.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

House at 341 Nassau Street, Princeton, Mercer County, New Jersey (included in the Princeton Historic District, listed in the National Register on June 6, 1975)
Gunnar Myrdal wrote most of his enormously influential *American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy* in this house, which he rented from the fall of 1941 through June of 1942. It was while working here that he heard the news of Pearl Harbor. His comparison of his comfortable situation in Princeton with the suffering of those on the battlefields of Europe helped make the book his "war work." Mydral was highly critical of the country's racial inequality that contradicted American democracy and weakened the United States both militarily and ideologically in the war against Axis dictatorships. The publication of *American Dilemma* in 1944, which was critical of racial policies in the United States, testifies to the freedom of speech that continued on the home front, in spite of government efforts to encourage positive views of American society.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Port Chicago Naval Magazine/Port Chicago Naval Magazine National Memorial, Concord Naval Weapons Station, Contra Costa County, California
In July 1944, 320 servicemen, 202 of them African Americans, were killed in an explosion at this Navy munitions loading site, that damaged every building in Port Chicago, and was the worst home front disaster of World War II. The court martial of some of the survivors, who refused to go back to loading munitions, fueled public criticism of the Navy's racial policies and helped pave the way for the desegregation of the armed forces in 1948. When President Harry

Truman called for the Armed Forces to end racial segregation in 1948, the Navy had already systematically done so as a result of this event. In 1992 a small portion of the blast area was designated as the Port Chicago National Memorial, honoring those who lost their lives. Still visible at the site are ruins of piers destroyed in the blast, railroad tracks, training facilities, and ammunition bunkers that appear to date to the World War II era as well as bunkers and revetment and munitions boxcars. NHL Exception 7 excludes commemorative properties less than 50 years old from NHL consideration.
Recommendation: The area including the World War II-era resources should be evaluated for possible NHL status.

Sojourner Truth Homes, Detroit, Wayne, Michigan
The controversy over this federal public housing project is an example of the sometimes violent hostility of established communities to the influx of newcomers during the war and indecisive federal policies. The 200-unit project, originally planned for African American war workers to alleviate horrendous housing conditions, was located within a white, traditionally Polish neighborhood. Eleanor Roosevelt encouraged integration at this project. Neighborhood opposition delayed the opening of the project but a coalition of black residents, along with representatives from the Congress of Industrial Organizations and United Auto Workers labor unions succeeded in shifting the political balance to approve black occupancy. At stake, according to the NAACP's Roy Wilkins, was government housing and government protection. The opening in February 1942 culminated in violent protests.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Morale and Propoganda

Paramount Studios Complex, Queens, New York (listed in the National Register on November 14, 1978)
This complex of movie studios, with its 13 buildings, had closed during the Depression and was later turned over to the Army Signal Corps for use as its main production facility, becoming the Signal Corps Photographic Center and later the Army Pictorial Center. Important training films, including Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* and propaganda films like the *Seeds of Destiny*, an Academy Award winning movie depicting Nazi Germany's efforts to keep control of Europe, were produced here. After serving as the Army's photographic center, studios and film library for twenty-eight years, the Army Pictorial Center was ordered closed in 1970. The studio fell into disuse, but was subsequently sold and renovated as Kaufman Astoria Studios, now a production center for top filmmakers.
Recommendation: This property should be evaluated for possible NHL designation.

Pennsylvania Railroad Depot & Baggage Room, Dennison, Tuscarawas County, Ohio (listed in the National Register September 8, 1976)
This 1870s railroad depot is associated with the movements of millions of servicemen across the country and with the importance of volunteers to the war effort. Located on one of the main rail lines carrying servicemen and women to bases in the West, to debarkation points in the East, or home from overseas, the station was the location of the Dennison Depot Salvation Army Servicemen's Canteen, the third largest Salvation Army canteen in the country. Between March 1942 and April 1946, almost 4,000 volunteers worked around the clock to serve 1.3 million men and women with sandwiches, cookies, fruit, and coffee during the trains' five-minute watering stops. Some of the G.I.s called Dennison "Dreamsville, Ohio," referring to a popular Glenn Miller song of 1941. Other large canteens, including the Stage Door Canteen in New York, the

Service Center in Chicago, and the canteen in North Platte, Nebraska, are apparently gone.
Recommendation: This property is currently being evaluated for possible NHL designation.

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APPENDIX A. REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR LISTING IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

Appendix A outlines the conditions that properties must meet in order to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Properties nominated to the National Register under the *World War II and the American Home Front* theme study must be associated with, or be able to illustrate or interpret, one or more of the study's topics. The association must have occurred between 1939, when the war broke out in Europe, and 1945, when V-E and V-J days marked the war's end. The properties must be located within the wartime boundaries of the United States and its territories and possessions.

Significant associations with one or more important topics in the home front context at the local or state level and integrity are the thresholds for nomination. In addition, each individual property must be evaluated against comparable properties associated with the same topic at the state or local level before its eligibility for listing in the National Register can be confirmed.

Significance

According to National Register regulations (36 CFR 60), the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and:

Criterion A that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
Criterion B that are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past; or
Criterion C that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
Criterion D that have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.

The following discussion provides specific suggestions of criteria and topics with which potential National Register properties might be associated and gives a few examples of properties that already have been listed.[1]

Criterion A

In order to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A, properties must be associated with events or patterns of events that were significant at the state or local level.

Places associated with **production** that are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A might include:

[1] Detailed guidance in applying the criteria and assessing integrity for potential listing in the National Register of Historic Places can be found in National Register bulletins *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* and *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form.*

- Government-owned armories, Navy yards, and munitions plants, government-owned contractor-operated industrial facilities, and private industrial installations that produced war materials and equipment and made important contributions to the local economy;
- Private plants that resisted converting their existing plants to military production before 1942 because of their opposition to the war or in order to profit from rising consumer incomes;
- Industrial installations of all types that introduced new production techniques that led to increases in efficiency or quality;
- Government sponsored, university-based, or private research laboratories that made important discoveries in science or technology;
- Places that are examples of cooperation between the government, the military, private and academic researcher institutions, and industry;
- Mines and production plants opened or expanded to produce raw materials needed for the war effort;
- Large industrial enterprises that obtained government production contracts through political influence or lobbying or small businesses that protested what they saw as unfair treatment;
- Farms, farm bureaus, and Agricultural Extension Services that played a role in expanding agricultural output;
- Sea, rail and air transport facilities that delivered important raw materials, foodstuffs, or military equipment or supplies.

Places associated with **manpower** that are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A might include:

- Expanded or newly constructed military bases or training camps that had major impacts on states or communities;
- Important private military academies or aviation training facilities;
- Universities or schools that provided vocational or technical training for wartime workers;
- Industrial installations that employed large numbers of previously unemployed local workers, that attracted significant numbers of new residents, or that expanded employment of non-traditional workers, including women, African Americans, the handicapped, and the elderly;
- Important wartime transportation facilities;
- Industries that resisted hiring non-traditional workers;
- Union halls or other places associated with organized labor;
- The sites of strikes and other labor disputes;
- Housing, schools, and other community facilities built or adapted to accommodate the needs of new residents attracted to states or communities during the war;
- Places associated with conflict between long-term residents and newcomers or with efforts to make newcomers welcome.

Places associated with **politics and government** that are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A might include:

- State or local offices of government agencies responsible for administering wartime programs, such as the draft, rationing, wage and price controls, and housing;
- Places associated with individuals or organizations that supported or opposed American participation in the war;
- Places associated with state or local organizations that worked to attract government contracts and military bases to the area;
- Places associated with wartime elections and political campaigns.

Places associated with **civil rights** that are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A might include:

- Places associated with the wartime relocation of persons of Japanese descent;
- Alternative public service camps or prisons for conscientious objectors;
- Segregated military bases and housing for African Americans;
- Locations of wartime racial or ethnic confrontation or conflict;
- Places associated with cases brought to the FEPC or with other government actions to oppose racial discrimination;
- Places associated with groups of individuals, or organizations working for civil rights;
- Places associated with African Americans and members of other minority groups who took direct action to protest unfair or discriminatory treatment.

Places associated with **morale and propaganda** that are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A might include:

- Places associated with war bond drives, scrap collections programs, Victory Gardens, or other volunteer activities;
- Places associated with important local volunteer organizations, such as the Red Cross, the USO, or women's clubs;
- Places associated with local draft boards, OPA price checkers or other government programs that relied on volunteers;
- Places that were presented or accepted as exemplifying the "American way of life";
- Places that symbolized the state or community working together for victory;
- Places in communities that played important roles in wartime popular culture, such as movie theaters, radio stations, and theaters.

Places associated with **home defense** that are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A include:

- Headquarters or bases for Civil Air Patrols;
- Locations of observation towers, "filter boards," or other Civil Defense programs.

Examples

Examples of properties listed in the National Register under Criterion A for their associations with the World War II home front include:

Universal Laboratories Building*, Dassel, Meeker County, Minnesota (listed in the National Register on March 1, 1996)*
Property type*: Places associated with production*
During World War II, this simple frame mill building housed the nation's first, reliable, domestic producer of ergot, a pharmaceutical based on rye that was used to treat wounds and combat stress. The laboratory's success in producing ergot in bulk reassured the pharmaceutical industry, which had feared that domestic producers would not be able to supply sufficient quantities of the drug to make up for imports that had been cut off by the war.

Sixth Street School*, Hawthorne, Mineral County, Nevada (listed in the National Register on October 7, 1999)*
Property type*: Places associated with manpower*
Federal funding was used to expand this small elementary school building to accommodate the children of new workers coming to the West Coast U.S. Naval Ammunition Depot. The

population of the Hawthorne area grew from 1,229 in 1940 to 13,000 in 1944, straining the town's ability to absorb the newcomers and their children.

***Fort Stanton Historic District**, Lincoln County, New Mexico (listed in the National Register on April 13, 1973; additional documentation accepted on January 14, 2000)*
***Property type**: Places associated with civil rights*
The Justice Department established an internment camp for enemy aliens at this former military post, CCC camp, and Public Health Service reservation in early 1941. Over 700 German, Italian, and Japanese internees were held at the camp between 1941 and 1945. A separate area within the camp held "incorrigible agitators" transferred from other Justice Department camps. The original post was listed in the National Register in 1973; additional documentation, accepted in 2000, expanded the district and provided information on the wartime internment camp.

***Aircraft Warning Service Observation Tower**, Agnew, Clallam County, Washington (listed in the National Register on April 29, 1993)*
***Property type**: Places associated with home defense*
This 35-foot tall frame observation tower was built by local volunteers shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The volunteers who manned the tower around the clock for two years reported their observations to central "filter centers" in nearby cities. Observation towers like this one played important roles in maintaining civilian morale during a period of intense concern about the possibility of enemy air attacks. In 1991 the tower was moved in order to preserve it. Because its current location is comparable to the original setting the tower meets the requirements of National Register Criteria Consideration B (see below).

Criterion B

In order to be eligible for listing in the National Register under this criterion, properties must be associated with individuals who have played important roles within the World War II home front context at the state or local level in the areas of production, manpower, politics and government, civil rights, morale and propaganda, or home defense. The individual must have made contributions that can be specifically documented and that are directly associated with both the home front context and the property being considered.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B in the area of **production** might include:

- Individuals who made important contributions to increasing industrial output;
- Industrialists who developed new technologies or innovative production techniques;
- Research scientists or engineers who made important scientific and technological discoveries;
- Individuals associated with the cooperation between government, the military, industry, and private and academic research institutions;
- Industrialists who opposed converting from civilian to military production before 1942;
- Individuals who made important contributions to the expansion of agricultural output;
- Individuals who played important roles in organizing or operating transportation for foodstuffs, raw materials, or military equipment and supplies.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B in the area of **manpower** might include:

- Individuals who played important roles in mobilizing, training, or transporting members of the armed forces or civilian war workers in the state or community;
- Industrialists who hired substantial numbers of non-traditional workers, or who opposed opening employment to such workers;
- Individuals who worked to open employment to all qualified workers;
- Local union leaders who cooperated with or opposed the policies of the national unions;
- Employers who provided housing or created social programs to attract and hold workers;
- Educators and reformers who sought to use the war emergency to improve housing, education, and other services for working people.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B in the area of **politics and government** might include:

- Political leaders who worked to bring military bases or government production contracts to their states or communities;
- Individuals who were associated with debates about participation in and conduct of the war;
- Individuals who played important roles in maintaining confidence and mobilizing popular support for the war at the state or local level;
- Elected political leaders at the state or local level who were important supporters or opponents of the continuation or expansion of New Deal policies during wartime.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B in the area of **civil rights** might include:

- Individuals who advocated or opposed the creation of the wartime relocation program for persons of Japanese descent or the location of relocation centers in states or local communities;
- Individuals who worked for civil liberties at the state or local level;
- Individuals who helped organize or worked to prevent or stop “hate strikes” or other racial conflicts;
- Leaders in organizations working for civil rights at the state or local level;
- People who took individual action to protest against or to influence attitudes towards racial discrimination.

People whose associated places might be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B in the area of **morale and propaganda** might include:

- Leaders of civil defense programs, bond drives, or scrap collections at the state or local level;
- Local leaders of programs and organizations that relied on volunteers, such as the Red Cross, USO, the draft, the OPA, or women’s clubs;
- Individuals who made important contributions to sustaining morale in communities through popular culture.

People whose associated places might be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B in the area of **home defense** might include:

- Organizers of state and local civil defense programs.

Examples

An example of a property listed in the National Register under Criterion B for its association with the World War II home front is:

Robert Lee Humber House*, Greenville, Pitt County, North Carolina (listed in the National Register on July 9, 1981)*
Property type*: Places associated with politics and government*
This late 19th century house was the home of Robert Lee Humber from 1940 to his death in 1970. Humber was an international lawyer who fled Paris in 1940 just hours ahead of the invading German army. He was a strong supporter of world government, which he saw as the only way to achieve world peace.

Criterion C

Places associated with the World War II home front that are good examples of wartime architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, or construction techniques are likely to be eligible for listing under Criterion C. Such properties might include:

- Individual buildings, industrial plants, military installations, and housing projects that were designed by important local architects, planners, or landscape architects;
- Buildings or districts that are good examples of modern architecture, landscape architecture, and planning;
- Buildings or complexes that pioneered the use of innovative construction techniques or materials;
- Buildings or districts that exemplify standardized planning and construction guidelines developed by federal agencies.

Examples

An example of a property associated with the World War II home front listed in the National Register under Criterion C is:

Parkfairfax Historic District*, City of Alexandria, Virginia (listed in the National Register on February 22, 1999)*
Property type*: Places associated with manpower*
This large garden apartment complex, completed in 1943, is significant under Criterion C as a historic district and for the high quality of its architecture and landscape design. It as also listed under Criterion A as an example of wartime housing for government workers.

Criterion D

This criterion was intended primarily for archeological properties, though it also can be used for buildings and structures whose physical fabric can provide important information about historic construction techniques or materials. In order to prove significance under this criterion, the documentation must demonstrate that physical remains that are or have been contained in the site have answered or are likely to answer research questions concerning important topics identified in the World War II home front context.

Places that are likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D might include:

- The archeological remains of temporary military camps, prisoner-of-war camps, war relocation centers, or civilian public service camps that are not well documented in the written record;
- Industrial plants or housing projects that incorporated experimental or innovative construction techniques or materials.

Examples

To date, no properties associated with the World War II home front have been listed in the National Register under Criterion D.

National Register Criteria Considerations

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties can be eligible for listing if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

Consideration A A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

Consideration B A building or structure removed from its original location but which is primarily significant for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or

Consideration C A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life; or

Consideration D A cemetery that derives its primary importance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

Consideration E A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or

Consideration F A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or

Consideration G A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

Integrity

Properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places under this theme study must also possess integrity. The property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historical significance. Essential physical features are those that define both *why* a property is significant (National Register criteria) and *when* it was significant (period of

significance). They are features without which a specific property can no longer be identified as, for instance, a military training camp or a government office building or a factory from the World War II period. The first step in assessing the integrity of a specific property is to define what the physical features are that must be present and then to determine whether those features are still visible enough to convey the property's historic character and significance.

Although it is impossible to entirely avoid an element of subjective judgment in assessing integrity, this subjectivity can be minimized when the evaluation is grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its historical associations or attributes. The National Register recognizes seven aspects or qualities of integrity that can be used to guide the assessment of integrity. These are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

- *Location* is the exact place where the historic event occurred or where the historic property was constructed. While many properties associated with the *World War II and the American Home Front* context, such as factories, military bases, and housing projects, are likely to be in their original location simply because of their size, small barracks or houses may have been relocated. A property that has been moved from its original location can be considered for listing in the National Register only if it meets the requirements of National Register Exception b (see above).

- *Design* is the combination of physical elements that creates the historic form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. Design can also be a defining feature in districts, reflected in the way in which the buildings, sites, or structures were related to each other during their historic period of significance. Although individual houses in a planned home front housing project may have been altered, the district might still maintain its integrity of design if the overall layout and plan remains intact. Individual factories constructed for the wartime industrial mobilization probably will have lost all of their historic equipment and are likely to have been converted to new uses. Many such buildings were designed to be modified for other kinds of manufacturing after the war, or for other uses. When this is the case, the changes made to accommodate the new activities must be carefully evaluated in relationship to the property's significance.

- *Setting* is the physical environment of a historic property. It involves how, not just where, the property is situated and its historical relationship to surrounding features and open space. The settings of many wartime properties have changed dramatically: from rural to urban, from closely surrounded with other buildings and structures to standing isolated among vacant buildings and parking lots. It is important to take into consideration both the significance of an individual property and the importance of its setting to that significance when evaluating its integrity of setting.

- *Materials* are the physical elements that were combined in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. A property must retain many of the exterior materials dating from the World War II period to be eligible for listing in the National Register under this theme study, even if it has been rehabilitated. In evaluating the integrity of districts, only exterior integrity need be considered. If significant events took place inside buildings, interiors must also be largely intact.

- *Workmanship* is the physical evidence of the historic labor and skill used in constructing or altering a building, structure, object, or site. It may be expressed in sophisticated

architectural details or in plain finishes and vernacular methods of construction. As one example, the rough construction used in "temporary" World War II army bases, relocation centers, and housing projects is important evidence of wartime shortages and time constraints. "Improvements" that used high quality construction techniques might result in compromising the integrity of these important properties.

- *Feeling* is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. It results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property's historic character. For example, a housing project where the houses have been enlarged and the historic dirt roads paved may have lost its historic "sense of place," while one that retains its original design, materials, workmanship, and setting will still convey the feeling of life on the World War II home front.

- *Association* is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property retains association when it is the actual place where the event or activity occurred and is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer. An office would have more direct associations with the significant work of important executives or labor leaders than a house or apartment where they spent only their leisure time. As in the case of integrity of feeling, association requires the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character.

Evaluation

Finally, each individual property being considered for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under the World War II and the American Home Front context must be evaluated against other comparable properties associated with the same topic. Comparing individual properties with similar properties at the state or local level provides the basis for determining which ones have the strongest associations with the significant topic and the highest level of integrity and are therefore potential candidates for listing in the National Register. For example, some communities contain a number of apartment complexes or suburban developments created to house defense workers. These properties would need to be compared in order to determine which ones would be most likely to meet the registration requirements for listing in the National Register as examples of federal government guidelines for planning, design, or landscape architecture, for example; of the work of important local architects or designers; of local resistance to providing housing for newcomers; or of patterns of racial segregation.

APPENDIX B. NATIONAL REGISTER PROPERTIES AND STUDY LIST

This appendix lists those properties identified during the course of this study that have national, state, or local significance. This appendix is divided into two subsections. The first, "National Register Properties" identifies those properties that have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places since the issuance of this draft study in 2004. The second, "National Register Study List" contains those properties identified in the course of this theme study that appear to be worthy of study for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Further research would be necessary to confirm their significance and integrity.

National Register Properties

These properties have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places since the issuance of this draft study in 2004.

Carleton Airport, Stanton, Goodhue County, Minnesota (listed in the National Register on July 21, 2004)
Property type: Places associated with manpower
This airfield, with its historic grass-covered runways, is a rare, largely intact example of the thousands of privately-operated World War II training fields that provided primary flight training. It was developed by Carleton College in 1942 to train its students in preparation for enlistment in the military. The Army War Training Service also used the field for secondary and instructor training.

Fort Miles, Sussex County, Delaware (listed in the National Register on September 30, 2004)
Property type: Places associated with home defense
This large military installation was created between 1941 and 1945 to protect the entrance to the Delaware River and the vital military and industrial facilities in Philadelphia, Trenton, and other up river locations. It embodied the most advanced engineering technology and planning principles of the period and housed the most powerful seacoast protection weapons available. Although the guns are long gone and many of the temporary buildings constructed during the war have been lost, significant elements of the fort have survived, including batteries, fire control towers, control rooms for the mines laid in the river, barracks, mess halls, the parade ground, and the historic road network, all set within a recognizable military landscape.

National Register Study List

Alameda Naval Air Station, Alameda County, California
Property Type: Places associated with manpower
Begun in 1938 and not yet complete at the time of Pearl Harbor, this was one of the Navy's largest permanent air training stations. Its high-quality design and construction were characteristic of military building during the defense period. Its primary mission was to train the carrier-based pilots who played a critical role in the Pacific campaign, but it was also a major supply base and harbor for Navy ships, including the *U.S.S. Hornet* (now a museum at the base) from which the 1942 Doolittle bombing raid was launched against Tokyo. This base closed in 1997.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Aluminum City Terrace, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania
Property type: Places associated with manpower
This project is an example of government sponsored housing for defense workers. It was constructed for workers at the nearby Aluminum Company of America plant, located on a steep wooded site, and designed by internationally known architects Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer. It was associated with Clark Foreman, an important and controversial federal housing official. The project was initially criticized for its modern design.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Avion Village, Grand Prairie, Dallas County, Texas
Property type: Places associated with manpower
This defense housing project was designed for workers at a nearby North American Aviation plant by internationally known architect Richard Neutra, an immigrant from Europe famous for his modern architectural designs.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Bantam Car Company, Butler County, Pennsylvania
Property type: Places associated with production
Bantam produced the initial design for the jeep, one of the most successful developments of the war. The Army eventually contracted with Willys-Overland and Ford for quantity production, in part because Bantam was thought to be too small for mass production. Bantam challenged that decision, leading to Congressional hearings on the issue.
Recommendation: The administration building, which reportedly survives, should be evaluated for possible nomination to the National Register.

Bell Aircraft Corporation, Wheatfields, Niagara County, New York
Property type: Places associated with production
Bell Aircraft was selected by the Army Air Forces (AAF) to build the first jet airplane in America in the fall of 1941. The XP-59 Airacomet flew for the first time on October 1, 1942. Although much of the design work and prototype assembly was done at a Ford plant in downtown Buffalo for security reasons, the production models ordered by the AAF were built at the Wheatfields plant. In 1944, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics and the AAF asked Bell to design an experimental supersonic aircraft; early work on this plane also took place in Wheatfields. In 1947 the rocket-powered XS-1 was the first plane to break the sound barrier.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Black Officers' Club, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri
Property type: Places associated with civil rights
This standard temporary classroom building represents both the new opportunities for advancement into the officer corps that African American soldiers found in the Army and the segregation they routinely encountered at Army posts. Originally constructed in 1941, it was adapted in 1942 or 1943 for the use of black officers assigned to Fort Leonard Wood but excluded from the white officers' club. An unusual mural, depicting African American life, was painted above the mantel by a black artist serving at the post. The building is surrounded by stonework steps and terraces constructed by German POWs held at Fort Leonard Wood.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Boeing Plant Number 2, Seattle, King County, Washington
Property type: Places associated with production
By 1944, this huge complex was producing B-17s (the backbone of the Army Air Forces) at a rate of 362 planes a month. It employed many women and is an example of America's World War II industrial mobilization.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Bonneville Power Administration Master Grid, various counties, Oregon and Washington
Property type: Places associated with production
Between 1939 and 1945, the private Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) built a long-distance, high-voltage electrical transmission network to connect Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams with population centers in Oregon's Willamette Valley and the Puget Sound area in Washington. The grid consisted of almost 3,000 miles of transmission lines carried on high towers and 55 electrical substations; most of it is still in use. Because of the defense program's need for enormous amounts of electric power, the project, expected to take ten years to complete, was finished in just over five years. The grid attracted new industries to the Pacific Northwest, including shipyards and military bases. Electro-metallurgical industries used its cheap electrical power to produce one-quarter of the critical aluminum needed by the aircraft industry. The decision to locate the Manhattan Project's plutonium production facility at Hanford, Washington, was also based in large part on the availability of cheap electricity from the BPA grid.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Brewster Aeronautics, Long Island City, New York
Property type: Places associated with manpower; places associated with production
Brewster was a much publicized and controversial mobilization failure. Some aviation historians consider the Brewster Buffalo the worst fighter plane of World War II. There were so many management problems that the company was taken over by the Navy in 1942. Brewster's militant union Local 365, led by the outspoken Thomas DeLorenzo, was widely criticized for its willingness to strike to maintain its shop-floor rights, disregarding both organized labor's no-strike pledge and any effect the strike might have on defense production.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Brookley Field, Mobile County, Alabama
Property type: Places associated with manpower
This important Army Air Forces base handled supplies for the southeastern United States and the Caribbean and was responsible for all civilian pilot training programs in the eastern U.S. A large modification and repair center for aircraft was also located here. Brookley Field employed 17,000 civilians, contributing to the enormous population expansion of the Mobile area during the war.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Camp Hearne, Robertson County, Texas
Property type: Places associated with civil rights
This 60-acre prisoner of war camp was opened in mid-1943 to house German soldiers captured in North Africa, though smaller numbers of Italians and Japanese were also held here later in the war. Archeological investigations conducted by Prof. Michael R. Waters of Texas A&M

University have uncovered the remains of a mess hall, theater, barracks, decorative fountains, and many artifacts documenting unknown aspects of day-to-day life at the camps. These discoveries, correlated with extensive archival research and oral histories, have produced one of the few comprehensive studies of life in a POW camp.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corporation and U.S. Rubber, Kanawha County, West Virginia
Property type: Places associated with production
This was the largest of the plants constructed by the Defense Plant Corporation to produce critically needed synthetic rubber. It was the only one that produced both raw materials (the butadiene and styrene plant was operated by Carbide and Carbon, a subsidiary of Union Carbide) and finished rubber (operated by U.S. Rubber). The plant was one of the first plants to go into production. Many of the original buildings survive at the site, though some have been altered and their setting has changed.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

General Electric, Schenectady County, New York (designated an NHL on May 15, 1975 as the General Electric Research Laboratory established in 1900 and recognized as the first industrial research facility in the U.S.)
Property type: Places associated with production
General Electric was a major supplier of turbines during the war. In 1942, it produced the first American jet engine, copying a British prototype.
Recommendation: A National Register amendment should be considered for this property.

Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio
Property type: Places associated with morale and propaganda
In November, 1943, *Life* magazine ran a photo essay on this "American Anyplace," focusing on Progress Street between Rhea and Gray. The article commented on how little the war seemed to have affected the neighborhood, but also reported that "in the even current of life, the block has a tremendous reserve of power, a great strength built up by its peaceful ways." This "plain, satisfied, friendly" town was compared with "battletorn" Detroit 200 miles to the north.
Recommendation: The area discussed in the article should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Jefferson Proving Grounds, Jefferson and Ripley counties, Indiana
Property type: Places associated with production
This huge site was purchased by the U.S. Army in 1940 as a secure inland testing ground for artillery. It eventually included a massive complex of industrial buildings, a small neighborhood of officer housing, and a complete airfield, used by the Army Air Corps to provide advanced training for flying multi-engine aircraft. Col. Gary Tibbets, the pilot of the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, received his last state-side training here.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Hutchins Intermediate School, Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan
Property type: Places associated with manpower
Hutchins was the site of an Extended School Services program run by the Merrill-Palmer School and Wayne State University. The program was probably established by Dr. Edna Noble White, Director of the Merrill Palmer School. Dr. White also played a key role in getting day care programs organized in the state.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Danbury Federal Penitentiary, Danbury, Fairfield County, Connecticut
Property type: Places associated with civil rights
This federal prison was used to hold men opposed to the draft who did not meet the requirements for conscientious objector status. Prisoners included Jehovah's Witnesses and the "Union 8" or "Danbury 8," Union Theological Seminary students who were imprisoned for a year for their refusal to register for the draft in 1940. They and other conscientious objectors reportedly forced the prison to integrate its dining hall.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Factories No. 60, 64, 90, and 91, Reynolds Tobacco Company, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina
Property type: Places associated with production; places associated with manpower; places associated with civil rights
These large factory buildings, used for processing the tobacco used in cigarettes and other products, are associated with an important wartime strike that took advantage of government labor policies encouraging union membership to organize the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. The unions had made little progress in organizing the tobacco industry in the South before the war. In June 1943, the workers in these buildings, mostly black women, walked off the job. In 1944, they gained recognition for their multi-racial union.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

A. L. Loomis Laboratory (Tower House), Tuxedo Park, Orange County, New York (listed in the National Register on March 13, 1980 as a contributing resource in the Tuxedo Park Historic District)
Property type: Places associated with production
Alfred E. Loomis, a multimillionaire investment banker-turned-amateur physicist is associated with the development of radar and the formation of the Radiation Laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). In the 1920s, Loomis converted this 1901 Tudor Revival house into a private laboratory where he and his small staff conducted experiments in radar. These studies, along with Loomis's money and connections (his first cousin was Henry Stimson, Secretary of War) gained him the chairmanship of the Microwave Committee of the federal National Defense Research Committee established to coordinate the work of civilian scientists in the event America joined the war. In this capacity, Loomis met in Tuxedo Park with representatives of the top-secret British Tizard Mission on September 18, 1940, who needed U.S. development and manufacturing assistance to harness a radio transmitter that introduced ground-breaking radar technology. Weeks later, in November 1940, the U.S. started the MIT Radiation Laboratory to develop microwave radar systems based on the transmitter. Loomis personally

funded the first year's work at the laboratory that led to dramatic advancements in radar technology.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible individual nomination to the National Register.

Memorial Gymnasium, University of Virginia, City of Charlottesville, Virginia
Property type: Places associated with politics and government
On June 10, 1940, President Roosevelt took a long step away from isolation in a speech he gave here. In a famous phrase—"the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor"—he denounced Italy's declaration of war on France. He also declared that the U.S. would "extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same, time, . . . harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense."
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Middle River Industrial District, Baltimore County, Maryland
Property type: Places associated with production; places associated with manpower
This area includes two large Glenn L. Martin aircraft manufacturing plants, one pre-war and one wartime, that were important producers of military aircraft during the war. The plants employed 53,000 workers, including 18,000 women and 3,000 African Americans.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Montford Point, Camp Lejeune, Onslow County, North Carolina
Property type: Places associated with civil rights
This training camp, located within the Camp Lejeune Marine base, is associated both with expanded opportunities for African Americans in the military during the war and with the rigid segregation that characterized military bases. Montford Point was constructed when the U.S. Marines first began accepting African American volunteers in 1942 due to political and public pressure and the escalating demand for troops and rapid mobilization. Black recruits lived and trained some distance from the main area of Camp Lejeune to limit the potential for racial incidents. It was the location for all basic and advanced training for black Marines, but the only advanced training provided was as mess men and ammunition and depot workers. Montford Point also includes a separate area for white officers and special enlisted personnel. This site remains an active marine base.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Naval Ammunition Depot Crane, Martin County, Indiana
Property type: Places associated with production
This 98-square mile ammunition production and storage facility illustrates the scale and impact of munitions production for the "two ocean navy" during the war. The depot, built in 1940 to provide ammunition for the whole Atlantic fleet, and the prewar Hawthorne Depot in Nevada, which supplied the Pacific fleet, were the largest of the Navy's World War II depots.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Naval Ammunition Depot Hawthorne, Mineral County, Nevada
Property type: Places associated with production
This prewar depot was hugely expanded during WWII. One of the Navy's two largest depots, it was responsible for supplying the entire Pacific theater.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Naval Ordnance Plant, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana
Property type: Places associated with production
Over one-third of the top secret Norden bombsights, which dramatically increased the accuracy of daytime bombing, were produced here. The plant employed many women.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

New Castle Army Air Base, New Castle, New Castle County, Delaware
Property type: Places associated with manpower
This hangar, built in 1942, is associated with the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS), established by the Army's Air Transport Command in the fall of 1942 to fly planes from the manufacturers to their permanent bases. The WAFS, merged into the Women's Air Forces Service Pilots (WASPS) in 1943, were the first women military pilots to serve with the U.S. Army Air Forces during World War II. Houston Municipal Airport and Avenger Field, in Sweetwater, Texas, the other two sites most closely associated with the WAFS/WASPs, appear to have lost integrity.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

New York Naval Shipyard, Brooklyn, Kings County, New York
Property type: Places associated with production
During World War II, the Brooklyn Navy Yard expanded to become the nation's busiest shipyard. It built eighteen warships, including three aircraft carriers, during the course of the war and performed alterations and repairs on over one thousand U.S. and Allied vessels in the peak year of 1944 alone. The shipyard closed in 1966, was purchased by the City of New York in 1967, and is now a 300-acre industrial park.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Northern Pump Company, Fridley, Anoka County, Minnesota
Property type: Places associated with production
This huge plant, built in 1940, was one of the first constructed by the Defense Plant Corporation. Completed in only three months, the plant employed 7,000 people to make hydraulic equipment and gun mounts. It was reportedly the country's largest wartime producer of ordnance for the Navy.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Northern Regional Research Laboratory, Peoria, Peoria County, Illinois
Property type: Places associated with production
This research laboratory, operated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, played a critical role in developing new techniques that made the large-scale production of penicillin possible. Penicillin had been discovered in England, but Britain was already at war and its pharmaceutical

industry was fully occupied. Because of the advances made at the Peoria laboratory, production of the drug by American drug companies grew from 21 billion units in 1943 to more than 6.8 trillion units in 1945.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Reynolds Metals Smelter and Sheet Mill, Listerhill, Colbert County, Alabama
Property type: Places associated with production
This plant was constructed with a $16 million loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as part of the program to expand production of the aluminum critically needed for aircraft production. It was the first challenge to the Aluminum Company of America's monopoly in primary aluminum production. The plant was located in the Tennessee Valley to take advantage of the cheap electricity available from the Tennessee Valley Authority.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Pribilof Aleut Internment Historic District, Juneau, Alaska
Property type: Places associated with civil rights
This internment camp demonstrates the willingness of the U.S. government to deprive citizens of their civil rights without charge or trial in time of war, based largely on race. It was established in June 1942, shortly after the Japanese attack on the Aleutian Islands, to house almost 500 Aleuts relocated from the Pribilof Islands. The U.S. military recommended the evacuation for security reasons and created the camp, but did little to improve living conditions there. The 23 islanders who died during the internment were buried in the camp cemetery, which is included in the district. The Aleuts were returned to the Pribilof Islands in 1944.
Recommendation: A National Register nomination was submitted in 2002 and returned to the State Historic Preservation Office for revision.

Scattergood Hostel, West Branch, Cedar County, Iowa
Property type: Places associated with civil rights
This was the location of one of the few American attempts to assist European refugees from Nazi persecution, created by the American Friends Service Committee in 1939. This former school housed 185 "guests" during its four-year existence, usually for periods of a few months.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Slowe Hall, Washington, District of Columbia
Property type: Places associated with manpower; places associated with civil rights
This dormitory, constructed by the Defense Homes Corporation in 1942 to provide housing for black government workers, represents both the government's response to the housing shortage caused by the enormous expansion of employment in the federal government and the racial segregation that characterized government-sponsored defense housing programs. It reportedly had 277 single rooms and 22 double rooms, with one bathroom for every 4 rooms. The building was designed by Hilyard Robinson, an important black architect. This building is now a residence hall for Howard University.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Thompson Aircraft Products (TAPCO), Cleveland, Cuyahoga County, Ohio
Property type: Places associated with production; places associated with manpower
Built by the Defense Plant Corporation (chartered by Congress in 1938), this plant produced aircraft engines and was Cleveland's largest wartime employer (21,000 workers).
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

United States Naval Submarine Base, Groton, New London County, Connecticut
Property type: Places associated with manpower
Designated as the nation's first permanent continental submarine base in 1916, the base at Groton expanded at an exponential rate during World War II to service an increased number of ships and to train over 2,000 officers and 22,000 men for submarine service.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Victory Gardens, Washington, District of Columbia
Property type: Places associated with morale and propaganda
These garden plots were located near McLean Gardens, an important but much altered defense housing project in Washington, D.C. They are still in use as community garden plots.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Whitehall Building, New York, New York County, New York
Property type: Places associated with manpower
Four floors of this large, early 20th century office building were used as the headquarters of the Navy's Port Director, New York (PDNY). The PDNY was responsible for managing the over 400 merchant ships a day that made New York the busiest harbor in the world during the war. The Port Director was also responsible for assembling the almost 1,500 wartime convoys that played a critical role in protecting ocean shipping from German submarine attack. The fact that the building was also the center for the city's maritime industry greatly facilitated cooperation between the Navy and private shipping companies. The building was converted to apartments in 1999.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Willow Run Ford Plant, near Ypsilanti, Washtenaw County, Michigan
Property type: Places associated with production; places associated with manpower
This huge plant was probably the most famous wartime "production miracle," visited and reported on by many, including FDR, on his morale-boosting "Our Nation at War" tour in 1942. The plant was designed by Albert Kahn to mass-produce B-24 bombers, but was badly planned, making no provision for housing or other community services for its workers. As a result, the plant had a devastating effect on the surrounding area, was plagued by huge turnover rates, and never reached planned employment levels.
Recommendation: This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

Wright Aeronautical, Lockland, Hamilton County, Ohio
Property type: Places associated with production; places associated with manpower
This huge complex of 32 principal buildings on 217 acres near Cincinnati was designed by Albert Kahn. Wright's request for a loan to finance its construction in June 1940 led directly to

the creation of the Defense Plant Corporation and to the development of new lending arrangements that later helped finance billions of dollars of industrial plants. The plant produced many of the Wright air-cooled engines used in World War II aircraft. In June, 1944, 12,000 workers went out on a 4-day wildcat strike over the transfer of 7 black workers to a previously all-white section of the plant. Hearing about the strike, sailors aboard the USS *Coos Bay* in the Pacific took up a collection of $412 in pennies to "buy off" their striking "enemies at home." **Recommendation:** This property should be studied for possible nomination to the National Register.

APPENDIX C. WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT-RELATED NATIONAL PARK SERVICE UNITS

Unit	Significance
Aleutian World War II National Historic Area Unalaska, AK (authorized November 12, 1996)	Interprets the circumstances surrounding the Aleut people and the role they and the Aleutian Islands played in the defense of the U.S. in World War II. After attacking the island, Japanese took Attuan Aleuts prisoners of war for 3 years and, in the aftermath of the invasion, U.S. authorities evacuated nearly 900 Unangan (Aleut) people to internment camps in Southeast Alaska where they remained for 3 years.
Manzanar National Historic Site Independence, CA (authorized March 3, 1992)	Protects and interprets the historical, cultural, and natural resources associated with the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.
Port Chicago Naval Magazine National Memorial Danville, CA (authorized October 28, 1992)	Recognizes the critical role Port Chicago played in World War II by serving as the main facility for the Pacific theater. It also commemorates the explosion that occurred at the Port Chicago Naval Magazine on July 17, 1944, which resulted in the largest domestic loss of life during World War II.
Rosie the Riveter/World War II Home Front National Historic Park Oakland, CA (authorized October 24, 2000)	Commemorates the contributions of those who supported World War II and worked in the war industries and recycled, collected, saved, and sacrificed. The shipyards, day care centers, first managed-health-care hospital, war worker housing, and a liberty ship (World War II cargo steamer) built in the shipyards are included in the park.
Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site Tuskegee Institute, AL (established November 6, 1998)	Preserves the airfield, historic hangar, and other buildings at Moton Field, where African American pilots known as the Tuskegee Airmen, one of the most highly respected U.S. fighter groups of World War II, received their initial flight training.
World War II Memorial Washington, D.C. (authorized May 26, 1993) (dedicated May 29, 2004)	Honors the 16 million Americans who served during World War II, along with the millions who supported them on the home front during a time of unprecedented national unity.

APPENDIX D. WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS

Property	Significance
30- by 60-Foot Full Scale Wind Tunnel Virginia City, VA (designated October 3, 1985)	Conveys the military's technological advancement in World War II aircraft. The National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics used this wind tunnel to test almost all the war's fighter aircraft using large-scale and full-scale aircraft at actual speeds.
Drew, Charles Richard, House Arlington County, VA (designated May 11, 1976)	Recognizes the surgeon who discovered how to preserve blood plasma and early in World War II organized Plasma for Britain which became a model for later blood distribution programs.
HA-19 Fredericksburg, TX (designated June 30, 1989)	Interprets the role the federal government played in World War II morale building when millions of Americans viewed this captured Japanese midget submarine on its War Bond tour of major cities across the country.
Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory Los Alamos, NM (designated December 21, 1965)	Illustrates the federal government's wartime development of an atomic bomb. This lab served as the center for weapons research leading to the first nuclear test (does not include scientific buildings due to security reasons).
Manzanar War Relocation Center Inyo County, CA (designated February 4, 1985)	(NPS unit – see listing in Appendix C.)
Pentagon Arlington County, VA (designated October 5, 1992)	Represents the military's rapid expansion during World War II. The Pentagon, the world's largest office structure, was completed in 1943.
Randolph Field Historic District Bexar County, TX (designated August 7, 2001)	Interprets the Army's objectives to standardize training throughout the Flying Training Command and to establish a proving ground for the development of training methods and training aids. Beginning in 1943, the Central Instructor's School at this airfield trained all flying instructors at all Army training schools in the U.S.
Rayburn, Samuel T., House Bonham, TX (designated May 11, 1976)	Recognizes Samuel Rayburn who served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1913-1961. Rayburn is remembered for saving the peacetime draft bill in 1941 and for obtaining funding for the Manhattan Project, both contributing greatly to American victory in the war.
Rohwer Relocation Center Cemetery Desha County, AR (designated July 6, 1992)	Represents the federal government's Japanese-American relocation policies during World War II and features distinctive and exceptional artistic design elements of the funerary monuments associated with the Rohwer internment.
Room 307, Gilman Hall, University of California Berkeley, CA (designated December 21, 1965)	Interprets a scientific achievement made on February 23-24, 1941. Scientists at this research laboratory developed the man-made element plutonium that led to the development of atomic explosives that ended the war with Japan.
Room 405, George Hebert Jones Laboratory, University of Chicago Chicago, IL (designated May 28, 1967)	Illustrates a milestone in the development of nuclear energy made on August 18, 1942. In this room, chemists isolated a pure compound of the man-made element plutonium.
San Francisco Port of Embarkation, U.S. Army (Golden Gate National Recreation Area) San Francisco, CA (designated February 4, 1985)	Represents the country's massive mobilization associated with World War II as the principal port on the West Coast for delivering personnel, material, weapons, and ammunition to the fighting fronts in the Pacific theater.
Site of First Self-Sustaining Nuclear Reaction Chicago, IL (designated February 18, 1965)	Illustrates a milestone in the development of nuclear energy as the site associated with the first controlled release of nuclear energy on December 2, 1942.
Trinity Site Socorro County, NM (designated December 21, 1965)	Depicts the test site of the world's first nuclear device on July 16, 1945, that ushered in the atomic age.

Property	Significance
United States Immigration Station, Angel Island Marin County, CA (designated December 9, 1997)	Represents a prisoner of war camp for German and Japanese prisoners of war and members of the Italian Service Units from 1942-1946. (Also significant as the major West Coast processing center for immigrants from 1910-1940.)
Wheeler, Burton K., House Butte, MT (designated December 8, 1976)	Recognizes isolationist Democrat Wheeler who opposed Roosevelt's foreign policies before the war, but supported them after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.
X-10 Reactor, Oak Ridge National Laboratory Oak Ridge, TN (designated December 21, 1965)	Illustrates the federal government's Manhattan Project and the advent of nuclear weapons. The X-10 reactor was the first full-scale nuclear reactor when it went into operation November 3, 1943.